Daily Report

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Bocka Interviewed on SFRY Republics Recognition

AU1601153492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Ilir Bocka by correspondent Lirim Ibrahimi; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Ibrahimi] Mr. Minister, how do you assess the EEC's decision to recognize the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia?

[Bocka] This is a reasonable decision and a positive step that considers a very basic right, the right to self-determination. We associate ourselves with this step of the EEC and welcome it as a method of solving the crisis of Yugoslavia today. [words indistinct] take our stand, and we are considering this problem, analyzing it in all its aspects. We are also taking as a basis the contacts we have had with high-ranking representatives of both Slovenia and Croatia. We are at a certain stage in our work, which is of course being conducted on the basis of certain other interests that are connected with this problem, and our national interests.

[Ibrahimi] Thank you.

Yugoslav Border Guards Kill Albanian

AU1601203992 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] A report issued by the Defense Ministry states that Yugoslav border forces, at a point several meters into their territory, killed Albanian citizen Gani Islami and seriously wounded Shkelzen Islami, both from Ostren i Vogel, near the border post of Vernice near Peshkopi at about 1400 [1300 GMT] on 15 January. The wounded man was sent to the hospital in Diber e Madhe [Debar]. This serious incident deeply outraged the villagers of Ostren i Vogel, who approached the border and made a protest. However, the border guards of the Peshkopi area intervened and calmed the situation. We stress that, despite our repeated protests, Yugoslav border patrols have persisted in such acts, which conflict with human rights.

Intellectuals Hold Conference on Kosovo

AU1701105092 Tirana ATA in English 1016 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 17 (ATA)—On January 16, the forum of the Albanian independent intellectuals and the forum of the free opinion of the national association and cooperation organized in the Museum of National History in Tirana the conference on the topic "Kosovo—The Fate of the Albanian Nation ".

The report "the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Albanian nation" read out by Prof. Dr. Pandelicina said among others that in the framework of the current political developments in the Balkans, we warmly hail the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia by the European Community and invite it to do the same with the Republic of Kosovo too. The armed Serb-Croatian conflict and the Yugoslav disintegration, he said, brought on the European political stage the question of recognition of sovereignty of all the nations of the Balkans and of the Albanian nation in particular.

Further on, he said that this ancient and proud nation has given birth to the great Constandin, Naim Frasheri and Mother Theresa, these apostles of love, good spirit and fraternity among peoples and religions. In conclusion he said that historic and national consciousness of the Albanians is enhanced, their intellectual capacity has increased. The war they waged over the Second World War and the rather bitter experience drawn from the 50 year communist dictatorship forced the Albanians to draw great lessons.

Prof. Dr. Ali Aliu, member of the Democratic League of Kosovo greeted the conference.

Then some papers were read out on the Albanians in the contemporary world by Doctor of Sciences Bahri Beci, on the consolidation of the Republic of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state and as a historic condition for the solution of the national question by the poet Agim Gjakova, the recognition of the Republic of Kosovo and the Albanian people as a nation, without which the Yugoslav crisis cannot be considered as solved by the pedagogue of the University of Tirana, Rustem Gjata, for pluralistic Albania and the question of all the Albanians by the poet Fatos Arapi,etc.

People's Assembly Meets Italy's Andreotti

AU1601150792 Tirana ATA in English 1308 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 16 (ATA)—The delegation of the People's Assembly of Albania, headed by Dr. Kastriot Islami, which arrived to Italy on January 14, met on January 15 with the premier of the Italian Republic, Giulio Andreotti. Dr. Kastriot Islami thanked the Italian premier for the aid given by the Italian Government regarding the treatment of the Albanian emigrants, the dispatch of Italian aids and Albania's support in various international organisms and made a short expose of the democratic developments, the legislation and preparations for the coming elections. Laying the stress on the economic aspect of the democratic reform in Albania, Dr. Kastriot Islami spoke of the need of passing from the emergency aid onto the investments and medium-term and long-term projects. Likewise, the chairman of the Presidency briefed the Italian premier on the position of the People's Assembly on the right of the Albanian population of Kosovo to have its own republic and the right of the Albanian population of Macedonia for autonomy.

On his part the Italian Premier Andreotti aired the readiness of the Italian Government to support the

economic reforms in Albania through investments and the realisation of medium and long-term projects. Considering as many complex the situation in Yugoslavia, Andreotti voiced the opinion that Italy is making its contribution to find a solution which would ease tension in the Balkans.

The delegation was received at the seat of the Chamber of Deputies by the president of the Italian Parliament, Nilde Jotti. Dr. Kastriot Islami briefed her on the proceedings of the People's Assembly, the work carried out to draft the constitution and on the preparation of the draft-law on elections. Likewise, Dr. Kastriot Islami said that it is necessary that experts and observers from the Italian Parliament come to Albania to monitor the coming elections and functionaries of the People's Assembly be sent to the Italian Parliament to be specialised with regard to the procedures of the examination and passing of laws. Expressing the satisfaction over the realisation of this visit, in the framework of the good relations between Italy and Albania, President Nilde Jotti voiced the readiness to meet all the requests. The delegation was also received by the president of the Italian Senate, Giovanni Spadolini. After acquainting the president of the Senate with the democratic process in Albania and the difficulties in the economic aspect, Dr. Kastriot Islami put forth the necessity of the Italian Senate support to solve the Albanians' issue in Yugoslavia as a decisive factor of stability in the Balkans and Europe. Voicing on behalf of the Italian Senate the readiness for solving the Yugoslav crisis, Spadolini said that Italy is working very carefully for finding an opportune solution.

In the meeting with the minister of emigration, Margherita Boniver, Dr. Kastriot Islami presented the request on the creation of the conditions for the Albanian emigrants to join their families and enter and leave Albania in accordance to the rules. Likewise, the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly put up the need to start the investments as soon as possible. Appreciating the proposal, Mrs. Boniver committed herself to make her contribution to the creation of the conditions which would prevent eventual new exoduses.

All the meetings passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

Trade Consultations Department Established

AU1601150192 Tirana ATA in English 1011 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 16 (ATA)—The Department of Trade Consultations set up recently at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations provides trade information and consultation to both state economic enterprises and to local and foreign private ones.

In an interview with our editor, the director of this department Jorgji Kote said that the setting up and functioning of this link aims at granting the necessary trade information to economic subjects in four main fields: in that of various products, prices, forms of trade and the ways, means and strategy for the instigation of exports. To guarantee such an information, the department has a number of internal and foreign sources, such as REUTER agency, specialised UN agencies, and specialised firms and companies for trade information on a broad range of commodities.

With regard to the distribution of information, this department will issue periodical bulletins with data for commodities, markets, prices, international markets, etc. Besides, seminars, conferences, symposiums will be organized with known experts from the world, various representatives of Albanian private and state firms.

Progress in Land Distribution Reported

AU1601150092 Tirana ATA in English 1006 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 16 (ATA)—Land distribution has entered a decisive stage and is heading to the finish. The final carrying out of the agrarian reform is a key point not only for agriculture, but for all the Albanian economy.

Sixty percent of the land has been distributed so far, 19 districts have delivered a territory exceeding this figure. Out of them four districts are almost completing this process; 320,000 hectares of land have been delivered to private owners out of almost 530,000 hectares on country scale. Out of 2,570 villages of our country about 2,225 villages are wholly engaged in this process. Land division is over in 1,000 villages. Land privatization has not yet begun in 200 villages.

Nevertheless land privatization is not carried out easily. What hinders, slows or makes difficult this process is the nostalgia and willingness for the previous land borders. This gives rise to problems in defining the boundaries among the villages. The great movement of the peasant population poses another hindrance. The displacement of this population due to the construction of industrial objects, or the movement from the remote mountainous zones towards the plains have arisen conflicts and disagreements among the peasants and the newcomers. Despite such problems, the overwhelming part of the rural population is for the implementation of the Law on Land.

If work goes on at the so far rates it is supposed that about 450,000 hectares of land should be privatized by the end of March. This means that another 130,000 hectares have to be distributed in the next three months.

Nano Speaks to Eurosocialist Youth Forum

AU1601145492 Tirana ATA in English 0947 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 16 (ATA)—On January 15, the national meeting of the Forum of Albanian Eurosocialist Youth was held in the capital with the participation of its members and sympathisers and other invitees.

Present were also the chairman of the Steering Committee of the Albanian Socialist Party, Mr. Fatos Nano, as well as representatives of embassies of foreign countries accredited in Tirana.

Those present kept a minute silence to honour the martyrs of democracy and the student Arben Broci.

The report and discussions stressed that the creation of the forum was natural and it was an outcome of the union of the people with the same convictions and freed from the prejudices. December 1990, the meeting emphasized, marked the absolute decay of the communist power in Albania. The student movement gave rise to political pluralism in Albania. We all are initiators of this forum, we are students and have been side by side our comrades in the stormy days of December and have lived through intensively the student movement and its further developments. Further on the speakers at the meeting said, we are united with one another at this forum having the left-wing convictions, the belief in the European democratic left-wing movement, in the ideals of justice, solidarity and social support. Although in essence the forum is a political organisation, it is characterized by the juvenile spirit and as such its main aim is to meet the interests of its members.

The forum will create conditions and possibilities to the youth to contribute to the fulfillment of the interests of the age, interests which have to do, first of all with their employment, education and entertainment. Likewise, it was pointed out that in conformity with the democracy inside the Socialist Party, the forum would be an organism within the party, having its own say. It is open for cooperation with every organism of the Albanian youth both within the current borders of the Albanian state and outside them.

On behalf of the Steering Committee of the Albanian Socialist Party, those present in the meeting were hailed by the chairman of this committee, Mr. Fatos Nano, who said that you have gathered in this meeting to forge ahead democracy, to convey to the country messages of unity, to the world the message that the Albanians are able to communicate with each other. Mr. Nano said that the Albanian Eurosocialists have the motto "Albania above everything. Everything for Albania," in order to make the country a worthy member of the European civilised family.

Parties' District Activities Reported

AU1601150492 Tirana ATA in English 1300 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Tirana, January 16 (ATA)—The first conference of the SDPA [Social Democratic Party] branch of Vlore city was held in Vlore. The report and discussions concentrated on an analysis of the general activity on the road towards the full democratisation, the actual events and laid the stress on the tactic and strategy of the branch for the full realisation of the program of the Social Democratic Party.

Attending the conference was also the chairman of the Steering Commission of the SDPA, Prof. Dr. Skender Gjinushi. After evaluating the achievements of democracy and of the opposition forces against the communist dictatorship and totalitarian system, he dwelt on the stage the process of the country's democratisation has gone through, the hindrances the conservatory forces have brought to it, the incapability of the Stability Government to normalise the life and work, etc. Further on, he laid the stress on the victory of the opposition forces in the new elections.

The first conference of the Agrarian Party [AP] branch for Korce city was held in Korce city. The report submitted there appreciated the work carried out by this branch for its extension in all the villages, the increase of the ranks of the members and implementation of the agrarian reform in the countryside. Likewise the stress was laid on the stand of the AP towards the difficult situation created in the countryside in the procrastinated implementation of the reform, etc.

The conference treated problems concerning the countryside and particularly the implementation of the reform.

The conference was greeted by representatives of the Woman's Democratic League, of the former political prisoners.

Thousands of people, members and sympathisers of the Union of the Independent Trade Unions of the economic enterprises and institutions, inhabitants of the city of Berat gathered at a rally in token of protest against the difficult social and economic state they are in.

Various speakers stressed among others in the rally that responsible for this situation is the communist regime and the different governments replacing each other. The black market and the very high prices, the lack of bread, firewood, theft, hooliganism, are making the life of the people graver, whereas the former party and state leaders lost the political power and are seizing the economic one. They demanded that the enterprises should guarantee the raw material, something which will make the people turn back to work, will interrupt the social assistance, will bring public tranquillity, regular supply with bread, price rise, etc.

Declaration on SFRY Republics Recognition

AU1601212992 Sofia BTA in English 2045 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA)—This evening Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev made a declaration on the National Television in connection with the decision of the Bulgarian Government to recognize the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This is a decision in principle which fully corresponds to the policy pursued so far by the new Bulgarian Government, a policy characterized by complete observation of the principles of international law. In our striving to observe these principles we are not guided by some ad hoc political considerations but by our desire to observe them as an independent and sovereign state.

What is most important concerning this decision is that the Bulgarian Government recognizes the right of the people living on the territory of these republics to self-determination, Mr. Stoyan Ganev said. The Bulgarian Government is pursuing a consistent policy in this respect and to illustrate this it would suffice to mention its recognition of the republics of the former Soviet Union.

Guided by the principles of the CSCE process, by the principle of the non-violability of the borders, we recognize the existence of these borders and renounce all territorial claims. At the present moment it is most important for everyone to understand that Bulgaria does not wish to create but to solve the problems jointly with the other countries on the Balkan Peninsula.

Respect for the existing borders and the giving up of all territorial claims is a policy in line with European and world norms and criteria of international conduct. Bulgaria is a country invariably pursuing a policy aimed at becoming a stabilizing factor in the Balkans. At this crucial moment for the Balkans and for Europe it was our duty to take this decision, the foreign minister said.

We have no intention to interfere in the internal affairs of the people living of the territory of the breakaway republics. It is their right to determine the relations between them. An important aspect of our future policy will be to assist the promotion of goodneighbourly relations both with Greece and Turkey and the newly emerging states. We would be glad if this policy does not remain unilateral but becomes a policy of all the Balkan states.

To this end the further development of our relations with the republics, to which the decision of the Bulgarian Government refers, will depend on what decisions will be taken within the framework of the European Community because we wish to pursue and we are pursuing a European policy in the Balkans, guided by the European criteria of acting and thinking. This is why we will take no further steps in our relations with these republics independently of the general processes within the framework of Europe and the European Community, the foreign minister said.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to point out that the new Bulgarian Government is acting, maybe for the first time in decades, as a government pursuing not an ad hoc but a principled policy. And with time people will come to realize that this policy of ours corresponds to all criteria, all requirements and the interests of all peoples. Now some may doubt this but time will show that our decision was correct, principles and, what is most important, stabilizing. This is the aim of our policy, Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev said in conclusion. [Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian at 2000 GMT on 16 January carried an item on this declaration adding the following information: "At its working meeting this afternoon the Council of Ministers approved a declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced by Minister Stoyan Ganev on Bulgarian Television at 2100 Bulgarian time [1900 GMT]."]

BSP Calls Recognition 'Hasty'

AU1601204592 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] The decision of the government to recognize Macedonia as an independent republic was inevitable and cannot not be supported, Filip Bokov stated today at the news conference of the Bulgarian Socialist Party shadow government.

The worrying thing is that the Council of Ministers did not take into account the opinions of representatives from all the parliamentary groups, nor did it wait a while to listen to the opinion of Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev on this question. In Mr. Bokov's opinion this hasty decision places Bulgaria in danger of falling into isolation. He claimed that the decision was necessary because of the upcoming second round of presidential elections.

Mrs. Klara Marinova announced that this morning several European radio stations had broadcast appeals by Greece to the European Community to reduce or stop aid to Bulgaria.

After this morning's session of the parliamentary National Security Commission, Dimitur Yonchev and Petya Shopova voiced several misgivings. According to them the amendments and addenda examined this morning relating to the Law on the Ministry of the Interior abolish the previous law adopted by the Grand National Assembly. The minister is given the right to determine on his own the ministry's structure. There will be no voting on the necessity of holding competitions when appointing cadres.

Sendov Criticizes Recognition

AU1601191092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Here is some information about the news conference by Blagovest Sendov and Ognyan Saparev [former independent presidential candidate and vice presidential candidate, respectively].

Some people can claim that our road to Europe passes through the Bosporus but we ought not to forget that the highway to Europe passes through Serbia. At today's news conference Academician Sendov commented in such a way on the Bulgarian Government's 15 January decision on the recognition of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Mr. Sendov considers that this hasty and uncoordinated decision has already caused Bulgaria a prolonged deterioration in relations with Greece and Serbia and that we find ourselves in almost total isolation in the Balkans.

Parliament Adopts Foreign Investment Act

AU1601210392 Sofia BTA in English 2209 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA)—Tonight parliament passed the Business of Foreign Persons and Foreign Investment Protection Act. It abrogates the Foreign Investment Act passed by the previous, socialist-dominated, parliament. The new act provides for liberalized investment regulations.

Under this act a foreign investment means "any investment made by a foreign person acting, inter alia, in his capacity as single merchant or through a branch, or a joint-venture partnership in which the foreign partner or partners hold an interest of more than 50 percent in shares and interests, right to ownership or limited real rights on immovable property, ownership over undertaking, bank deposits, bonds, treasury bills or other securities." Ownership in real property of partnerships in which the foreign partner of partners hold an interest of more than 50 percent shall also be considered a foreign investment.

A foreign person may also acquire housing only through the realization of his building rights.

Joint-venture partnerships in which the foreign partner of partners hold an interest of more than 50 percent may not acquire ownership in agricultural land.

"It is mere speculation to assert that under this act Bulgaria may be sold out. Bulgarians are given the opportunity for equal participation with foreign companies, foreign investments will make it possible to open new jobs," jurist Ilko Eskenazi, author of the bill and MP of the Union of Democratic Forces, told BTA. During the debates socialist MP's repeatedly stated that this act posed a threat for Bulgaria being sold out. This act will help industry, agriculture and the structural adjustment of the Bulgarian economy, Mr. Ilko Eskenazi believes.

Foreign investors will be required to obtain permission from the government in order to manufacture and trade in arms, to carry on banking and insurance, to acquire real property in geographical regions designated by the Council of Ministers, to explore and extract natural resources from the territorial sea.

Legally undertaken business and legally made investments shall be immune to superseding statutory restrictions. Foreign persons are obliged to register any investment in Bulgaria other than bank deposits within 30 days of making the investment. Foreign persons carrying out unlicensed business in Bulgaria will be fined double the sum of the profit made in Bulgaria established by the tax authorities but not less than 50,000 leva (U.S. 2,500 dollars, according to the current exchange rate).

The act will come into force three days after its publication in the official gazette.

Talks With Creditors Progress

AU1701114292 Sofia BTA in English 1105 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—Bulgaria's problems with her German creditors will be solved by the end of the year. The negotiations with them have marked certain progress, Finance Minister Ivan Kostov told "PODKREPA," after yesterday's talks here with experts of Deutsche Bank, coordinator of the Advisory Committee of Bulgaria's Creditors.

German Finance Minister Theodor Waigel has stated his readiness to meet his Bulgarian Counterpart, Mr. Ivan Kostov, the same daily was told by Georgi Markov MP, who accompanied Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev during his visit to Germany. Mr. Georgi Markov explained that this happened after the German financiers and bankers were convinced in Bulgaria's serious attitude to the problem and its readiness to take the responsibility for its foreign debt.

The German side wanted assurances that the government will be granted a mandate by parliament to conduct the negotiations because so far such negotiations have not been held. According to Mr. Georgi Markov, the representatives of Deutsche Bank and the Bundesbank of Germany and other financial institutions showed understanding for the fact that because of the unstable political system and its coalition nature it was impossible for the former government to conduct serious negotiations.

The ice between Bulgaria and her creditors is melting, Mr. Georgi Markov said.

Civic Initiative Announces Electoral Violations

AU1601162892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] The Civic Initiative for Free and Democratic Elections disseminated its announcement on some proven violations that took place during the first round of the presidential elections.

These include: Undisclosed errors and omissions in the electoral rolls; breach of regulations on conducting the election campaign; improper use of public transport during campaigning; campaigning on the day preceding the elections and on the election day itself through the mass media and other channels.

Breaches during voting include: The removal, destruction, and shifting of ballots from the voting booths; the use of ballots of a similar color for different candidates; changing the order of ballots and using inappropriate equipment and so on; not admitting observers into polling stations in certain areas; unfamiliarity with the law and the Central Electoral Commission's instructions and sample documents by certain local electoral commissions.

The Civic Initiative for Free and Democratic Elections will also observe the second round of the elections and will again announce its forecast on the election result.

Zhelev Responds to Vulkanov Debate Refusal

AU1601184492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] We received the following declaration from the Electoral Press Center representing Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova in the presidential elections campaign:

In replying to an open letter signed by Mr. Velko Vulkanov and Mr. Rumen Vodenicharov, published in today's issue of the daily DUMA, Dr. Zhelev declares that this is a clumsy attempt to deceive the voters and to cover up for Mr. Vulkanov's real fear of participating in a live public debate on Bulgarian Television.

According to the Bulgarian Constitution, the presidential institution is not a collective organ and every candidate for this post should be capable of assuming personal responsibility, the Press Center's statement points out.

The arbitrary interpretation of the National Assembly's decision on the access of presidential candidates to the national mass media is nothing but an effort to mislead the voters and hardly adds to Mr. Vulkanov's reputation as a competent legal expert.

Dr. Zhelev once more repeats his invitation to Mr. Vulkanov to join him in a television detabe, by expressing confidence that Mr. Vulkanov, as a truly independent candidate, will not listen to his advisers from the modern leftwing party and will appear at the public debate. This is what the declaration of the Zhelev-Dimitrova Electoral Press Center states.

Minor Political Parties Support Vulkanov

AU1601191492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Today some of the presidential candidate pairs who participated in the first round of the elections published a declaration-appeal to the Bulgarian electorate.

In the name of the general hope for Bulgaria's survival and the continuation of the democratic process in the country, in observing the principles of social justice and national sovereignty, the declaration-appeal signed by the political forces and presidential candidate pairs calls on their voters to cast their vote in support of the independent candidates Vulkanov and Vodenicharov. Their electoral victory will guarantee that political life in the country will be pluralistic and free.

The following signed the declaration: The Christian Radical Party; the independent candidates Donchev and Shkutov; the Bulgarian National Radical Party; the Bulgarian Workers and Peasants Party-Varna; the Preobrazhenie Political Forum; the Bulgarian Communist Party; the Liberal Party-Pernik; the Party Nonmembers for Democracy Movement; the Bulgarian National Democratic Party; the Democratic Party in Bulgaria; and the National Salvation Election Union.

According to this information the independent candidates Sendov and Saparov also intend to sign this declaration-appeal.

Zhelev Attends Meetings With Supporters

AU1601211092 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] May Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and Mrs. Blaga Dimitrova, candidates for the presidential elections, count on the votes of Bulgarian private business circles in the second round of elections? This question can be positively answered judging from the meeting that the two candidates held with representatives of business circles at the National Palace of Culture in Sofia today.

Both sides expressed their mutual respect and affection. Speaking on behalf of the private business parties, Mr. Mollov stressed that the private business circles expect the president to eliminate the barriers that are dividing our society and to guarantee law and order, as well as a clearly defined foreign policy. The businessmen complained about legal and normative regulations that are obstructing their work and asked for the president's intervention.

The president, in turn, agreed with some of the grievances against the government, but he recalled that the 100 days of tolerance to which the cabinet is entitled have not yet expired.

He expressed his concern at the delay of the economic reform and declared his intention to insist on the accelerated adoption of the appropriate laws. Dr. Zhelev expressed his conviction that even under the conditions of crisis, tax exemptions and other conditions facilitating private business are required. Private business is the motor that will push forward our economy and country, the acting and candidate president said, committing himself that if he should be elected to a second term of office, he would, despite his limited prerogatives, address the parliament and the government on foreign policy issues and that he would use all his moral and political prestige to promote all those who have initiative and spirit of enterprise.

In the Khristo Botev Hall of the Sofia student complex an election meeting was held with Zhelyu Zhelev and Blaga Dimitrova, candidates for the presidential elections. Atanas Kirchev, chairman of the National Students Confederation, at whose initiative the meeting was organized, stated as follows in opening the rally: I firmly believe that Dr. Zhelev will win the elections because this will be the only sign that communism has been banned irrevocably from Bulgaria.

Zhelyu Zhelev dwelled on certain major topics of his electoral platform. We understand the desire for reform on the part of young people and businessmen, he stated. If I should be elected president, I will insist that parliament speedily pass the economic laws so that the reform may be pursued. I mean the Law on the Land, the Law on Privatization and Restitution. Mr. Zhelev further spoke on our country's national security. Our opponents are accusing us of leaving the country without protection, like an open backyard, but this is not true. Bulgaria has a stable national security and has guaranteed solid internal foundations for this.

Mr. Zhelev dwelled on the foreign policy guarantees, which are based on our integration with the European structures. The most important thing is our internal security, the economic, political, and social stability of our country.

Bulgaria for the first time in its history is conducting its independent foreign policy. It is based on a coordination of national interests and international law. The most important confirmation of this policy was the recognition of the four republics on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, Dr. Zhelev pointed out.

The nationwide election rally and concert held under the slogan: Democracy or Communism, which was announced by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], lasted over two hours at the Sofia Aleksandur Batenberg square.

The first speaker was Yordan Vasilev, who said that Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev is a symbol of democracy and addressed the audience with the appeal: Vote for democracy, vote for Bulgaria.

The rally was addressed by several SDS members of parliament. Several government members, headed by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov also arrived. He said: The important thing is that we should know what we want and what choice we are making at the upcoming election. The things that we are aspiring for and that we would like to become reality will become true, despite all difficulties, if we sincerely wish so. Dimitur Ludzhev, Valentin Vasilev, Svetoslav Luchnikov, and Oleg Chlev from the Podkrepa Labor Confederation addressed the supporters of the SDS and the team of candidates.

A few minutes after 1900 local time [1700 GMT] Blaga Dimitrova and Zhelyu Zhelev arrived. Mr. Zhelev addressed his voters by expressing his gratitude for the support in the first round and with the hope that they would support him in the second round.

Navy Commander Speaks on National Security

AU1601214092 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] At his first briefing in Varna tonight, Rear Admiral Ventsislav Velkov, commander of the Bulgarian Navy, devoted his chief attention to the reorganization and modernization of the Army and Navy.

He denied rumors about an alleged weakening of the country's military strength and stressed that all 52 combat ships of the Bulgarian Navy are prepared for defense. As a matter of fact, there is no threat from any country whatsoever, the admiral added.

In answering the question of our correspondent, Georgi Sveshnikov, the newly appointed navy commander stated that he does not feel like an outsider in his post, because he recently served as chief of staff of the Navy and he is familiar with all the problems involved.

Tomorrow he is scheduled to inspect navy units in Burgas and Sozopol.

Rear Admiral Velkov confirmed the announcement that three German military ships are expected to visit Varna on 12 February 1992 and added that he is expecting the visit of a ship from the Sixth U.S. Fleet and that a visit of the French Navy is also expected.

Markov Trial Defendant Savov Left Suicide Notes

AU1701104292 Sofia BTA in English 0949 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—Before his death General Stoyan Savov, former deputy minister of the interior and one of the defendants at the trial on the destruction of the file of Bulgarian emigre writer Georgi Markov, left a letter to the investigating authorities, the "24 CHASA" daily reports today.

General Savov was found shot in the temple on January 6, two days before the opening of the trial. The letter is

dated January 5. He also left a letter to his family which has been made public by the mass media.

The letter is addressed to the chief of the Criminal Investigation Department, General Leonid Katsamunski. It is authentic and has been handed over to the investigation authorities, Mr. Kosta Bogatsevski, spokesman for the Criminal Investigation Department, said yesterday. Its full contents is an investigation secrecy.

On five pages the deceased general dwells on the work of the intelligence services which he headed. The information is of interest to the investigation and concerns Bulgaria's international prestige, according to well-informed sources of the Criminal Investigation Department. General Savov was convinced that the investigation will establish the truth on the Georgi Markov case and rendered it some assistance to this end. He had no remarks to make on the way the investigation into the Georgi Markov case was conducted.

"REPORTER 7" runs a story on the behaviour of General Savov before January 6. His family asserts that he was not frightened by the trial. The general believed that there were no grounds to sentence him.

Former Intelligence Chief Arrested

AU1701152392 Sofia BTA in English 1436 GMT 17 Jan 92

[Text] Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—Lieutenant General Vladimir Todorov, a former chief of Bulgarian intelligence, was arrested today. Until now, even though a defendant in the trial in connection with the destruction of the police file of emigre writer Georgi Markov, the general was not in custody.

Asked why this new measure of restraint had to be applied, a source who spoke on condition of anonymity said that General Todorov was probably involved in the death of General Stoyan Savov, who was recently found dead in his native village.

The counsel for the prosecution Major General Lilko Yotsov declined to comment this allegation for BTA.

The presiding judge Colonel Nikolay Chiripov, chief of the Supreme Court, announced this morning that he was suspending proceedings and was referring the case for reinvestigation. He argued that evidence of another crime committed by the defendant in connection with the first one had been discovered and that is why the two had to be considered together.

The defendant also insisted on a reinvestigation of the case.

Foreign Minister on Ties With SFRY Republics

LD1601145392 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Today Czechoslovakia joined those states which have recognized Slovenia and Croatia. We managed to get hold of a statement on the issue by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier at today's federal government session.

[Begin Dienstbier recording] The government has recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. We are ready to establish diplomatic ties with Slovenia immediately. We will hold talks with Croatia on establishing relations on the basis of an assessement of guarantees of respect for fundamental human rights and liberties including the rights of ethnic minorities. We are examining the possibility of recognizing Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. We consider the inadmissibility of forcibly changing borders, including respect for the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as one of the main conditions for a political solution to the crisis. We also support the expeditious dispatch of UN peacekeeping forces and their deployment on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina and we confirm our interest in expanding relations with Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Pithart Questions Germany's Intentions on Treaty

LD1601151992 Prague CSTK in English 1335 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 16 (CSTK)—"If the Germans do not express willingness to sign (the friendship treaty with Czechoslovakia) soon, and I mean very soon, we should obviously take it as a signal to negotiate a better treaty later", Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart told the leftist daily "RUDE PRAVO" on Wednesday [15 January].

In the interview, published in today's edition of the paper, Pithart said: "I don't think the treaty represents such a great improvement that we ought to wait maybe half a year for it to be signed".

The treaty was initialled by the two countries' foreign ministers October 7 and Czechoslovakia had hoped for it to be signed into effect by the end of 1991. But on Friday [17 January] German Chancellor Helmut Kohl told a press conference in Bonn only that the treaty would be signed "soon... before March, most likely".

Also today, in a commentary in the independent "LIDOVE NOVINY" on "the broader dimensions of Czechoslovak-German relations", Bedrich Utitz writes from Bonn: "The circumstances around the signing of the treaty must be evaluated in connection with the current orientation of Germany's foreign policy as a whole".

Given the rise in racist and neo-Nazi violence against foreigners in recent months, as well as Germany's request to have German installed as the third official language of the European Community, it is no surprise to see concern and irrational reactions from other countries, Utitz writes.

Moreover, he points out, Germany foreign policymakers should have realised that their eagerness to recognise the independence of the breakaway Yugoslav republics of Croatia and Slovenia would cause the rest of the world "right or wrong, to make a connection between (this) approach and the former alliance of Hitler's Germany and the fascist Croatia".

Whatever the motives of Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Utitz says, considered along with the examples stated above, their putting off signing the treaty "creates the impression that German foreign policy has lost its sense of proportion".

In this sense, he argues, while the Czechoslovak-German treaty is not a major event in international politics, "it is however a sensitive barometer of what direction German policy intends to take in the future. An indicator of whether this superior attitude towards a smaller neighbour is just an unintentional and mistaken impression, or in fact one aspect of future policy".

Foreign Ministry Criticizes German CSU 'Demands'

AU1701103592 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 17 Jan 92 p 4

["bko" report: "Prague Criticizes CSU Wishes"]

[Text] Prague, 16 January—In Czechoslovakia fears that the quarrel about the signing of the German-Czechoslovak neighborhood treaty might become a serious burden on relations between the two countries are increasing. Foreign Ministry spokesman Lansky told this newspaper that the latest CSU [Christian Social Union] demands for "amendments" to the agreement, which was initialed as early as on 7 October, are an "inner-German affair." However, it is clear that discussions of this kind "certainly are not useful for relations between the two states." The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry continues to assume that everything in the treaty will remain as was agreed with Foreign Minister Genscher. Chancellor Kohl also confirmed that the agreement will soon be signed, he said.

Lansky said that the demands that the CSU makes in the Bundestag are exclusively its own business. However, the demands of this party will "certainly" affect the foreign and domestic policies of the two states. Boetsch, chairman of the CSU Land Group in the Bundestag, stated on German television on Wednesday [15 January] evening that the treaty is an improvement, compared to the agreement of 1973. However, many matters are still unresolved. Therefore, the agreement, like the one with Poland, is to be amended by an exchange of letters. In this way, the right to return and to buy back property that was nationalized after the war is to be provided for the Sudeten Germans. The auctioning of the former

Sudeten German property within the privatization process of the Czech economy is also to be stopped, he said.

Lansky said that the discussion on the agreement helps those "radical circles and interests" in both countries for which the disturbance of interstate relations is useful. These circles are also exploiting the "serious and honest feelings of the people" in Czechoslovakia, he said. Many fear that the Sudeten German property question might become a controversial topic in the Czechoslovak election campaign.

OH Disagrees With Changes in German Treaty

AU1601135992 Prague CSTK in English 2057 GMT 14 Jan 92

[Text] Prague Jan 14 (CSTK) - The Civic Movement (OH) today rejected demands to make any changes in the initialed Czechoslovak-German Friendship Treaty. In a statement presented to CSTK the OH welcomes a similar statement made by German Chancellor Helmut Kohl last week.

OH representatives stressed that the Czechoslovak restitution law makes impossible restitution of property nationalized before February 1948 (when the communists seized power). "Also due to this it is impossible to stop privatization of property which belonged to Germans (transferred after the end of World War II from Czechoslovakia)", said the statement.

If the treaty is not submitted to the parliament for ratification by mid-February, the two countries' relations may become the subject of the pre-election campaign in Czechoslovakia (elections due to take place in June 1992) and be harmed, the statement said.

Oversight Panel Chairman Discusses FIS Problems

AU1601151692 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 10 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with Julius Bobovnicky, chairman of the Special Control Body, by Rostislav Rod; place and date not given: "The Secret Service on the Carpet"]

[Text] [Rod] At the end of the year, the Special Control Body (ZKO) presented a report to the Federal Assembly presidium on its review of the Federal Security and Information Service [FIS]. What conclusions have you reached?

[Bobovnicky] The report is secret, yet we can say that we discovered certain conceptual, organizational, and personnel flaws. We also expressed our suspicion that nonconstitutional officials are meddling in FIS activities. We do not agree with that!

[Rod] A new director has been in charge of the FIS since the beginning of this month. In your opinion, what sort of guarantees do we have with Stefan Bacinsky?

[Bobovnicky] He is conversant with general security problems. He is conscientious and, above all, hardworking. This is why we have the impression that he could be the right person for the job. On the other hand, we must say that the ZKO was not sufficiently informed about the replacement of the FIS chief. Obviously, neither the executive organs nor the president and his office realize that only a Federal Assembly organ can monitor the FIS.

[Rod] The Kosice mayor, his adviser, and other people are convinced that the Kosice FIS bureau very intensively influences Slovak politics. Two people are even on a hunger strike to protest this. Can you confirm or deny that the FIS interferes illegally in politics?

[Bobovnicky] We dealt with the situation in the Kosice FIS bureau. We have not gotten the impression that those officials have been acting illegally. FIS officials are aware that it is essential to their work that they be apolitical. We will adopt a more complete position on the Kosice FIS and on the people who administer the Kosice bureau after we receive expert opinions and reports from agencies involved in criminal proceedings.

[Rod] The case of Jaroslav Basta, who was proposed for the post of deputy director, is still unresolved. The Czech Government does not have a representative on the FIS administrative body. What is your opinion on this?

[Bobovnicky] Jaroslav Basta is solving the problem in the usual bureaucratic way. The Special Control Body does not have the right to interfere in personnel problems of this nature within the service. Moreover, it seems that the Czech Government changed its intent to appoint Mr. Basta deputy director.... (According to our information, Zdenek Vodslon, a FIS official, was proposed for this position.)

Civic Movement Election Manager Views Prospects

AU1601192192 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 13 Jan 92 p 2

[Interview with Ivan Gabal, Civic Movement election campaign manager, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given: "The Center Alternative"]

[Text] Prague—Ivan Gabal (age 40) has just become the Civic Movement's election campaign manager. Six months before the elections young people appeared at the head of the movement: Martin Bursik (age 32), the new deputy chairman, and Jan Vild (age 23), assistant to the chairman. Gabal makes no secret that he wants to bring the Civic Movement, reproached for its vagueness and inability to act, to an electoral victory.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] One of your first steps was the termination of the Civic Movement's cooperation with the head of the Conservative Party, Jiri Kotas.

[Gabal] The first one was an explicit definition of the Civic Movement economic platform. The Civic Movement is definitively departing from the social democratic position and particularly from Deputy Milos Zeman.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The termination of cooperation is supposed to have come as a great surprise to Mr. Kotas. It is rumored that the decision was mostly due to your initiative.

[Gabal] I was present at the meetings where we became acquainted with a detailed draft coalition agreement prepared by the Conservative Party. We terminated the coalition talks. Nevertheless, we are not avoiding cooperation with a right-wing party.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Was the hindrance Mr. Kotas himself?

[Gabal] At this stage, Mr. Kotas and the Conservatives cannot be separated.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] You are promoting a new direction. Are you considering a coalition with someone else?

[Gabal] Until a new electoral law is approved, the cards have not been definitively dealt. The law will strongly affect the campaign. Only then will the parties learn their realistic strengths, capabilities, and comparative strengths. So far, the party programs are not available. They will reveal how far or close one is to another. I can distinguish three main currents in Bohemia and Moravia: A rejection of economic transformation (social democrats) and post-November political development (communists) is on one side. The other pole is the Civic Democratic Party with its philosophy that "the market will solve everything." A faction of the Civic Democratic Party, and particularly the Christian Democratic Party, are not contented with the post-November developments. They consider them to be left-wing oriented. Its rejection, however, is also a criticism of the transformation. We observe with anxiety how some currents in the Civic Democratic Party influence political issues by economic ones and vice versa, and also their inconsistency in drafting laws and other matters of key importance. What is left is the center alternative. It will not be, however, an alternative based on reconciling opposites. We will aspire to the integration of liberal-oriented political forces. I see the Civic Democratic Alliance and the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence Party (emphasizing its federal operation) as feasible partners, but they must further clarify their profiles and identities. Nevertheless, they both are close to liberalism and would be partners who could help us in our identity search.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] According to surveys, voters favor the Civic Democratic Party. The Civic Movement is hovering at the 5-percent support level.

[Gabal] The most recent surveys are from December. We entered in January. There are limits to the things we will do to win support. If the liberal center has 25-percent support, while harsh monetarism or a social democratic alternative in "the Polish mode" has 50 percent, we must accept it. The elections are here, however, to be won.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] What will your list of candidates be like? Martin Bursik, chairman of the Civic Movement deputies' club in the Czech National Council, has become your number two now, right after the chairman, Dienstbier. Are you betting on the young?

[Gabal] In my opinion, politics cannot be practiced at the highest level by people under 50. People grow to a ripe age. We have seniors who will be given their opportunities, but we must begin to cultivate a new generation. Federal Assembly Deputy Vild, who has become a political assistant to the chairman, will also be a source of reinforcement.

Civic Movement Opposes Conflicts of Interest

AU1601190392 Prague CESKE A MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 13 Jan 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Entrepreneurs Out of the Government"]

[Text] Prague—Employees in state agencies and some elected officials concurrently hold important posts in the banking and business sectors, and even sit on the boards of privatization funds, which is inadmissible and alarming, the Civic Movement Republic Council says in a statement adopted Saturday [11 January].

The council also welcomed the initiative of its ministers in the federal government, which resulted in defeating a proposal on deputy ministers and other high-ranking officials being represented in the management of banks following their privatization. The Civic Movement will support a bill specifying the principles for the entry of high-ranking state administration officials into private enterprise. Whenever it is necessary to assure the influence of the state on the operation of stockholding companies with government participation, the Civic Movement wants to push through a ban on financial or any other advantages connected with the participation of government officials in management bodies.

It also was decided that a conference of Civic Movement district chairmen will take place in Prachatice on 18 and 19 January. Dr. Martin Bursik, chairman of the Civic Movement deputy club in the Czech National Council and current member of the Civic Movement Republic Council Presidium, was elected executive deputy chairman of the Civic Movement.

Civic Democratic Alliance Rejects Coalition

AU1701092692 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Jan 92 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "Brief News" column]

[Text] Daniel Kroupa, Civic Democratic Alliance deputy chairman, denied the possibility of an election

campaign political partnership with the Civic Movement. This was his response to the statement by Ivan Gabal, Civic Movement 1992 election campaign manager, that the Civic Movement considers the Civic Democratic Alliance and the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence Party to be possible partners.

ODU-VPN Members Reported Defecting to ODS

AU1701092892 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 13 Jan 92 pp 1, 3

["(raj)"-signed report: "At the Preelection Starting Line"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (from our correspondent)— The Republican Council of the Civic Democratic Union—Public Against Violence [ODU-PAV] held a meeting on Saturday [11 January]. Various organizational issues were on its full agenda. At the suggestion of district [organizations] the Republican Council was brought up to its complement. The vacant position in the Executive Committee (as we announced, Fedor Gal resigned because of his work duties) was filled by Anton Vavra, who was elected in secret ballot. The statuses and the structure of the ODU-VPN Office have been approved.

Vladimir Ondrus has been elected head of the Office, and Ivan Felcik has become his deputy. Approval was given for five departments to be established (economic, press, foreign, regional, and analytical) and a branch in Prague. The Council also discussed a list of candidates proposed for the ODU-VPN Political Board and it heard information on the elections campaign tactics and strategy. This issue was broadly discussed.

At the beginning of the meeting, the members of the Republican Council heard the report on the activity of the party since the congress in Poprad. This report was read by ODU-VPN Chairman Martin Porubjak. [passage omitted]

The information that party members in four districts are defecting to the Civic Democratic Party caused agitation. Representatives from these districts confirmed that this information is distorted. Some people in their districts really contacted Civic Democratic Party representatives. They want to establish a club. They are those ODU-VPN members who were not elected to new functions when the movement was restructured. They seek the fulfillment of their ambitions in the Civic Democratic Party. Some members of the Council objected to the fact that our coalition partners, too (the Democratic Party after its recent meeting in Prague) are associating with the Civic Democratic Party—since such associations could address [as published] the ODU-VPN potential voters. They were assured by the leadership that it is quite usual to establish coalitions before elections, and that it was nothing dangerous. [passage omitted]

Article Outlines Scale of Arms Conversion Problem

AU1701124592 Prague EKONOM in Czech No 2, 10-16 Jan 92 pp 24, 25

[Vaclav Dufala article: "Ideas and Reality; The Concept of Conversion of Arms Production Must Be Comprehensive"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Initial estimates indicate that the process of conversion of the arms industry in the CSFR affects 111 enterprises employing 100,000 people, plus an estimated 150,000 people in ancillary enterprises. The amount of investment required for full-scale transition to civilian production is estimated at $300 to $360 million.

The scale of reducing arms production in the CSFR is therefore unique in comparison with other countries, in terms of its continuousness [plynulost] and pace as well as from the viewpoint of the technical conditions of conversion. Both the concentration of conversion in certain regions and the abrupt and drastic cuts in state procurement and in special technology exports create problems. It is therefore increasingly evident that the solution to the problem must be comprehensive. [passage omitted]

Bosnia, Macedonia Recognition Considered

LD1601232492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Excerpt] One of the most important subjects at the government meeting today was the diplomatic situation following the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia. From the government spokesman's news briefing, where naturally subjects concerning domestic issues have also been discussed, Erika Gulyas reports.

[Gulyas] So far 20 countries have recognized the independence of Croatia and Slovenia, Tamas Katona, state secretary for foreign affairs, told the ministers. Like Jozsef Antall, he also stressed that in addition to the recognition of the two republics, Hungary continues to aim for good relations with Serbia.

Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo also disclosed that according to information received by the Foreign Ministry, the EC member countries will decide about the recognition of the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia within two to three weeks.

Our country will again take steps in accordance with this; that is to say, at once. [passage omitted]

Goncz on Croatian, Slovene Recognition

LD1601210892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Our interest is to exploit the positive possibilities that lie in recognition, President Arpad Goncz said at his news conference this afternoon during which he analyzed the significance and expected consequences of the recognition of Croatian and Slovenian independence.

Arpad Goncz added that he considered recognition as a first step toward clearing things up, but he added that it must be clear that by itself it will not solve the issue of war and peace—recognition may have negative consequences.

To a question on whether the position of the Vojvodina Magyars might worsen following recognition, the president replied that he did not rule it out but hoped it would not take place because it was not in the interest of Serbia.

It would have been a good thing if Czechoslovakia had recognized Croatian and Slovenian independence at the same time as us, Arpad Goencz said, adding that ultimately it is not a question of a race.

Border Traffic Calm Along Yugoslav Republics

LD1601123392 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—Traffic is smooth in both directions along the Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian border sections of the country. Colonel Attila Krisan, deputy spokesman of the Hungarian Border Guards told MTI on Thursday. He said Hungarian border guards have not as yet been shown Slovenian and Croatian passports, although such travel documents have been considered valid for the past six months.

Since early January, when clashes in the Yugoslav civil war more or less came to an end, 78 people have requested temporary protection from the Hungarian border guards, while 488 people have returned home.

According to estimates, the number of Yugoslav citizens who have been staying in Hungary for a lengthier period is some 40,000.

EC Observers Extend SFRY Mission to Hungary

LD1601175892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] A protocol according to which the EC observers' mission in Yugoslavia will extend its activity to Hungary has been signed in Budapest. A foreign affairs spokesman confirmed that the headquarters of the small team will be Pecs. The task of the observers will be to monitor compliance with the ban on arms deliveries ordered by the UN Security Council. Janos Herman emphasized that by this step, Hungary expresses its readiness to actively support the EC efforts.

Russian Official Views Bilateral Trade

AU1501141692 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Jan 92 p 8

[Interview with Yuriy Chugonov, leader of the Russian Trade Mission in Budapest, by Peter Dunai; place and date not given: "Hungarian-Russian Trade—The Counselor Is Optimistic"]

[Text] Everything is in a flux with our great Eastern neighbors; the Soviet foreign representation in Budapest changed its colors to become the Russian Federation. How is the changeover implemented in practice, and what effects does this have on the economic relations of Hungary and its partner, which has broken into many pieces? We interviewed Yuriy Chugonov on these issues.

[Dunai] Do you represent all members of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], or will some of the states open their own trade mission in Budapest?

[Chugonov] This issue has not yet been resolved. We will function and take on the representation of other countries according to the decisions made by the CIS leaders.

[Dunai] It is certain, though, that you represent Russia. Have the 1992 deliveries been started yet?

[Chugonov] Yes, we have started the deliveries in order. On the basis of this year's agreement between the Russian Federation and Hungary, according to the indicative list, we will sell 2 million tons of oil (1 million tons was on the list in 1991), 4.8 billion cubic meters natural

gas, 1.6 billion kilowatt-hour electric energy, 0.5 million tons of diesel oil, and 0.5 million tons of crude oil to Hungary.

[Dunai] Could last year's situation arise again, when your buyers did not or could not pay for our buses, spare parts, and medicine?

[Chugonov] According to the 1992 agreement, banks will record all incoming amounts, including barter, that is, goods traded for goods, on an account, and this can only be used for purchases of goods in the partner country.

[Dunai] According to your records, how much was the bilateral trade in 1991? How much do you expect in 1992?

[Chugonov] Our figures are more or less the same as the figures of the Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations. According to this, bilateral trade amounted to some $3.5 billion in 1991, including reexported items. As for the 1992 prospects, I am optimistic. We put goods worth $3 billion on the central indicative list of our bilateral agreement, but there are additional possibilities for purchases, for example, for deliveries of crude oil.

[Dunai] The leaders of the Soviet trade mission in Budapest also participated in former negotiations on economic and financial issues of the Soviet troop withdrawals. What is the current situation in the negotiations?

[Chugonov] As is known, they are deadlocked. I do not yet know when and on what level they will be resumed. According to information I received, the Hungarian prime minister and the leaders of my country agreed to resume talks on an expert level. The buildings and structures in question are losing some of their value, because the weather and the lack of maintenance are destroying them. My personal view is that we should come to an agreement as soon as possible, this being in the interest of both sides.

Minister Galszecsy Discusses Recent Terrorism

AU1501151292 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 11 Jan 92 p 5

[Interview with Andras Galszecsy, minister without portfolio, by Attila Schmidt; place and date not given: "Andras Galszecsy on Terrorist Acts—Professional Methods, Mistakes"]

[Excerpts] What could explain the two terrorist attacks carried out in Budapest recently? Among other things, this is what we asked Andras Gaszecsy.

[Schmidt] What was the level of the terrorist actions?

[Galszecsy] The common feature of the two actions is the professional way in which they were carried out.

[Schmidt] What proves the terrorists' training?

[Galszecsy] For example, their thorough survey of the security arrangements at the Turkish Embassy, the transportation routes, and the careful choice of the day to enhance chances of success. The attackers also had a proper retreat route.

[Schmidts] Why did the professional terrorists fail to know that the ambassador's car was armored?

[Galszecsy] This was the reason for their failure, because they failed to notice that the ambassador's car was exchanged for an armored one a week before the attack. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] Was the attack on the Russian Jews also skillfully prepared?

[Galszecsy] This was a professional "job" too. Fortunately, some sort of mistake led to the destruction of the police car escort rather than the bus.

[Schmidt] Did the police escort have to take into account a real threat of terrorist attack?

[Galszecsy] We had no information whatsoever about the possibility that terrorists were preparing to attack this bus. Ever since Jewish immigrants began traveling to Israel through Hungary, however, we have received at least eight or 10 such reports from sister organizations abroad on various terrorist organizations planning to attack transiting immigrants somewhere in Europe. We have never received any more detailed information. [passage omitted]

[Schmidt] How could the terrorist find out about the route of the bus and the time schedule? How many people knew about the route?

[Galszecsy] Few people knew about it because the route was always planned at the last minute.

[Schmidt] This means that the terrorists must have received some precise information from somewhere.

[Galszecsy] They must have been preparing for months, and they must have learned about the transportation plans during these long preparations.

[Schmidt] What can we expect after all this? Will this series of attack continue?

[Galszecsy] I do not think that this is a series of attacks. I think the close timing of the two attacks was accidental. No doubt, the terrorist organizations are now aware of Hungary. Therefore, it would be irresponsible on my part to promise that similar terrorist attacks would never again occur in Hungary.

[Schmidt] Is it possible that the so-called KGB "safety net" kept the terrorists away from us in the past?

[Galszecsy] I have not come across any document attesting to any KGB "ban" on terrorist actions in Hungary. [passage omitted]

Senate Approves Interim Budget Despite Objections

LD1601212992 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] At today's session, in spite of many objections, the Senate passed an interim budget for the first quarter of the current year. Fifty-one senators voted for the bill, 21 against, and 12 abstained.

The Senate has not decided how it is going to present to the Sejm the views of some of the committees that pointed out the necessity for an increase in budgets for the Ministries of Justice and Health.

Trade Unions Nationwide Protest Price Hikes

LD1701000192 Warsaw PAP in English 1956 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 16—Nationwide protest actions against the recent price hikes on energy implemented without consultation were organized in Poland on Thursday by the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) and the Solidarity-80 Union, the radical splinter of Solidarity.

The OPZZ action was supported by most factory commissions but only some workers downed tools while the majority of them limited their protest to hoisting flags, putting on factory sirens, and organizing rallies.

In many plants OPZZ unionists were joined by other trade unions, mainly Solidarity and Solidarity-80.

In Warsaw the OPZZ organized a demonstration in front of the parliament buildings attended by some 2,000 unionists from central provinces. They handed a resolution containing their demands to Sejm (lower house) Speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski. Similar petitions were conveyed to the presidential palace and the cabinet office.

In the Katowice steel mill in southern Poland, unionists rolled 21 wheelbarrows with the names of cabinet members written on them in front of the office buildings, the Polish way of suggesting the Government should quit.

The protest action proclaimed by Solidarity-80 got the strongest support in the strongholds of the Union, Szczecin, Katowice and Torun.

In the north-western port of Szczecin Union Leader Marian Jurczyk led a 10,000-strong protest march through the city demanding taking the former governments of Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Jan Krzysztof Bielecki to account. They stressed the present cabinet of Jan Olszewski was not responsible for the price hikes.

A demonstration in Katowice was joined by members of the Confederation for Independent Poland, the OPZZ, the National Party and the party "X". Also this rally did not protest against the Olszewski government but to make it aware that the social endurance has run out.

The protest actions got a strong support on the part of the Polish Communist Union "Proletariat". "The changing ruling teams do not want or are unable to cope with problems that affect all of us. Their only concern is to ensure budgetary revenues at the cost of working people, pensioners, jobless, and the youth," the party said in a statement conveyed to PAP.

On the other hand, Kazimierz Michal Ujazdowski of the rightist faction of the Democratic Union sharply criticized the strikes saying they were "an attempt to transform the state of all citizens into a dictatorship of trade unions."

"Trade unions, which represent only a part of society, demand a privileged position in the state. These attempts should be opposed. The state, which wants to implement economic reforms that will bring about improvement of financial situation, must not succumb to the pressure of one lobby," Ujazdowski stated.

Democratic Union's Rokita on Budget Proposals

PM1601113492 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 7 Jan 92 pp 1-2

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Jan Rokita, chairman of the Democratic Union's Krakow-Nowy Sacz Regional Board, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given]

[Text] [GAZETA KRAKOWSKA] Mr. Deputy, last Saturday's Sejm debate on the interim budget proposal and on several important bills concerning economic matters took a somewhat startling turn....

[Rokita] There were two reasons for it. The first was the peculiar stance adopted by the government. Ministers Lutkowski and Kropiwnicki spoke with disgust about the parliamentary bills they themselves had proposed, while at the same time demanding that the bills be approved without any revisions. Then there was the prime minister's attitude. When asked to elucidate the situation, he adopted the president's notorious maxim: "I am for it, and even against it." In addition, declarations from certain parliamentary caucus groups caused raised eyebrows in the house.

For example, Deputy Moczulski, speaking on behalf of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], demonstrated a marked lack of understanding of the budget system when he accused the government of... intending to service the foreign debt and to meet its obligations vis-a-vis domestic banks! After all, if these liabilities were to be neglected, the state's whole banking system would collapse in a heap, and all credit capability would disappear instantly! For his part, Deputy Krasowski (Center Alliance) announced that he had information about who stole 40 trillion zlotys [Z] from which section of the state's coffers, but he would not disclose names or addresses. Still later, someone else came out with information about an illegal transfer of $1 billion to the East. Together, these two amounts alone represent 80

percent of the estimated extent of the state's total revenues (Z68.5 trillion), as quoted in the interim budget proposal.

I believe that the instances I have just quoted are a fair representation of the astonishing claims that deputies occasionally make in the Sejm forum. Finally, it was disquieting to see how the parties that make up the government's political spectrum—such as the Center Alliance or the Christian National Union—see only the negative side of all the bills submitted by the government. Does this mean that they will vote against their own government at the second reading? I must say that, at times, I find it increasingly difficult to understand the reason behind certain statements made in the Sejm.

[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA] But the Democratic Union's Deputy Marek Dabrowski also criticized certain government bills. So what does your parliamentary caucus propose instead?

[Rokita] The Democratic Union will, of course, insist on its fundamental recommendations for a healthy public finance sector and a reasonably balanced budget. This is to say, we still intend to support the government's essential "economic policy", including the proposed budget. However, some bills proposed by the government are irrational. For example, we are against increasing the tax rate to 50 percent, especially since the increase would be introduced only a few days after the tax itself. The increased tax would apply to small tradesmen, craftsmen, and businessmen running their companies single-handedly or with their families. But it is precisely thanks to those people that Poland finished the year 1991 with 2 million unemployed—instead of 2.5 million. It was those people who were forced to switch to the trade sector due to the unprofitablity of the small domestic manufacturing industry.

On the other hand, the Democratic Union wants to create the necessary conditions to enable the small business sector to invest and create new jobs. An abrupt financial blow from the tax man will also bring recession to the currently developing small private business sector. In any case, it is doubtful whether the state would collect much revenue from such an operation: Even more tradesmen would simply "go underground," so to speak.

[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA] The Democratic Union parliamentary caucus was the only one that objected to the increased tax rate....

[Rokita] Indeed. The curious thing is that, at the same time, everyone around is talking about the need to surmount the recession and to promote more and more people to the ranks of the new middle class. Clearly, they are not treating their own declarations seriously enough to act on them. We have also come up with the recommendation that the Social Security Agency [ZUS] retain the provision whereby it can reimburse the small businessman for the wages for up to 35 days of sick leave that—according to the proposals contained in the relevant bill—he would now have to pay his employees. This because how else can the employer manage if, say, he only employs one man in his firm? He would have to close the firm for business on such days and, at the same time, pay wages to his sick employee.

[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA] Does the Democratic Union approve the budget cuts in the public sector?

[Rokita] Today everyone can see the dramatic situation of pensioners, doctors, teachers, and public administration employees. And this problem is discussed by everyone today. We believe that the two previous governments are to blame for failing to institute a reform of social security benefits or the health service. Such reforms need years to be put into practice. And the sooner we begin to make the ZUS revenues or the revenues of the National Health Service independent of the national budget, the better the chances of pensioners' drawing decent pensions. Unfortunately, Prime Minister Olszewski presented a conservative position on this issue, and we criticized him for that in the Sejm debate. However, to recommend today that employees' pay in the budget-funded sector be restored to a level higher than that in the industrial sector is simply a pipe dream. The review of wages for the first quarter of this year must be stopped. There is no turning back on this decision.

On the other hand, the Democratic Union is against a concurrent 20 percent reduction in sick pay for employees of the budget-funded sector, such as teachers. And this is precisely what the government is proposing to introduce. We are particularly sensitive to the fate of the "budget intelligentsia," and we intend to remain so. We also intend to support their justified protest actions. After all, these are mostly people who view Poland just as we ourselves do: first of all, in terms of our shared responsibility for our country.

Ministry Notes Recognition of Croatia, Slovenia

AU1601210992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 92

["Statement" by the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 16 January provided to Bucharest Radio—read by announcer]

[Text] The Romanian Foreign Ministry learned about the decision of the twelve European Community countries to recognize Slovenia and Croatia as independent states and about the legal approval by the EEC Arbitration Commission that the Yugoslav republics that requested recognition should receive it. Likewise, the Foreign Ministry has taken note of the position and the considerations expressed by the federal authorities and other Yugoslav republics regarding recognition of Slovenia and Croatia and the position of the United States and of other countries on this matter.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry follows with greatest interest the development of the situation and continues to conduct dialogue with all the Yugoslav republics.

Given the responsibility that Romania has for stability and security in the region and in consideration of the exigencies of a policy of good neighborliness, its position is based on respect for the equal observance of the right to self-determination of all peoples in the Yugoslav republics, including their right to establish independent states or to set up various forms of association among themselves, when and in the way they wish to do so, on the basis of free consent.

Romania's current major concern is to continue to take well-intentioned action and to work in a spirit of friendship with all the Yugoslav peoples and thus contribute to surmounting the crisis and to finding generally acceptable peaceful solutions.

In this spirit, the Romanian Foreign Ministry intends to hold further meetings with all the concerned states with a view to making decisions that call for recognition of the Yugoslav republics as independent states.

Certainly, the international recognition of some of the Yugoslav republics as independent states does not settle the current crisis. Therefore, it is very important that the current cease-fire agreement be observed, that UN peacekeeping forces be sent as soon as possible, and that negotiations continue under the aegis of the United Nations and of the European Economic Community in order to achieve an acceptable agreement for all the Yugoslav sides—says the statement of the Romania's Foreign Ministry in conclusion.

Ministry Spokesman Rejects CIS Membership Idea

AU1601141392 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0934 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/1/1992—Asked to comment on President Boris Yeltsin's words, according to which the joining of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] by the Republic of Moldova would signify Romania's adherence to this post-Soviet Commonwealth, the spokesman for the Romanian Foreign Ministry Traian Chebeleu said that "it is out of question that Romania will join that Commonwealth," which will not prevent it from having economic ties with the former Soviet republics. At the same time, regarding the opening of the Romanian Embassy at Chisinau [Kishinev], Traian Chebeleu assured the journalists that during the current week a charge d'affaires would go to the capital of the Republic of Moldova to open Romania's diplomatic mission there.

Ambassador Traian Chebeleu also mentioned that equally during the current week, Romania's Government would tackle the issue of the official stands on the republics in Yugoslavia, starting from the premise that Romania recognises the right of peoples to self-determination, with all the consequences devolving from that and which can lead to the proclamation of the state independence or to the adherence to a federal system of a form or another.

Regarding developments in Algeria, the Foreign Ministry spokesman mentioned, Romania has a wait-and-see attitude, until the situation is clarified, but considers that the changes in this country will not affect its diplomatic links with Romania.

Commenting on the materials in the press according to which Hungary is going to adopt a law by virtue of which all Hungarian ethnics will be offered the possibility to adopt the Hungarian citizenship, the spokesman for the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that the Romanian laws in force allowed for dual citizenship and that a state, in general, is not entitled to interfere in somebody's option to become a citizen of another country, and must leave the respective person a total freedom of decision.

As for the tendency of the Western countries to treat the group of the former Central European communist states in a different way than the remaining former communist states in the area, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu maintained that the new political terminology, including terms such as Central Europe, East-Central Europe, South-Eastern Europe, does not reflect an institutionalised form in the international relations on the continent, but stand proof for the illusion of falsely set frontiers, proving subjective preferences or mere cooperation options on the part of certain states.

Discusses International Issues

AU1501214092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1921 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/1/1992—Referring to the ministerial conference due to be held in Washington over January 22-23 for the coordination of the assistance to the supporting of democracy in the new independent states on the territory of the former USSR which will be attended by about sixty states, Romania included, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the Romanian Minister of Foreign

Affairs, specified that, in the organizers' vision, the Eastern European countries are invited not as donor states but because the similarity of the problems confronting them and the experience in the economic and technical collaboration with the former USSR.

Mr. Chebeleu informed that the Romanian delegation would be headed by Constantin Ene, secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who would use this opportunity to have consultations with executives of the U.S. Department of State about the bilateral ties and the Romanian-American collaboration in international organizations and organisms. Mr. Ene will also sign on behalf of Romania the bilateral intergovernmental agreement concerning the activities of the peace corps in Romania.

The negotiations at the level of directors in the Foreign Affairs Ministries of Romania and Germany are held in Bonn concerning the conclusion of the treaty of friendship and collaboration between two countries, Traian Chebeleu, spokesman of the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced during his weekly press conference.

Referring to some conclusive elements concerning the ordinary meeting of the CSCE High Officials Committee held in Prague over January 8-10 attended on behalf of Romania by Teodor Viorel Melescanu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu emphasized in his weekly press conference that the examination of the situation in Yugoslavia was made based on a memorandum presented by that country's delegation concerning the violation of the UN Security Council resolutions which had put an embargo on the weapons export to Yugoslavia. The memorandum, Mr. Chebeleu specified, brought proofs according to which certain countries, Hungary, Germany and Austria especially, had granted a direct or indirect support in military equipment.

The Prague meeting—Mr. Chebeleu also informed—continued the elaboration of draft documents for the meeting of the CSCE Ministerial Council (Prague, January 30-31, 1992.) One of them is also the draft proposal concerning the setting up of a regional forum in South-Eastern Europe, an idea launched by the Romanian foreign minister at the meeting of the CSCE Council in Berlin over June 19-20, 1991.

According to Mr. Chebeleu, all the republics of the former USSR are "eligible" to participate in the CSCE if they express their wish to and pledge themselves to integrally meet the requirements of the CSCE documents.

Iliescu Grants Interview to Timisoara Radio

AU1501220092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1935 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/1/1992—"I think warmly and hold in high esteem Timisoara, to which I would like to pay my homage, for its role of vanguard in the outbreak of the revolutionary process of December 1989" President Ion Iliescu said in the interview he granted in the evening of January 14 directly from Bucharest to the Timisoara Radio Station.

Answering a question referring to the character of the December 1989 events Romania's president stressed that "with no hesitation we can assess the December 1989 events as the outbreak of the Romanian revolution." "I think that the respective events had a revolutionary character through the spontaneous participation of the population, had a profoundly popular character mirroring a frame of mind and an outburst of the people against a state of crisis the Romanian society was in."

Characterizing the subsequent evolution of the Romanian society President Ion Iliescu said: "We all take part in essential changes in social relations. On a political plane, a totalitarian system was demolished, the monopoly of one party over the political and social life was put an end to. A pluralist democratic system is being built; a state of law is being achieved; the adoption of the new constitution sanctions the legal foundations of a state of law, while on an economic plane a wide-scope process of setting the economy on new bases has been initiated; the structures and mechanisms specific to an over centralized system of administering the national economy are being demolished and the foundations of a market economy are being laid."

Admitting that at present "the Romanian society is in a deep economic, social, political and moral crisis" President Iliescu said that responsible for that state of affairs was, undoubtedly, the old political system. "Over the last two years the situation degenerated owing to crisis phenomena generated by transition itself," President Iliescu added.

Asked about the "public conflict with Petre Roman" President Iliescu said the issue "was presented in a distorted manner" stressing he had no reasons to be in conflict with Petre Roman. He nevertheless admitted that "the latest convulsions within the National Salvation Front highlighted asperities in our personal relations as well which, however, are not caused by a conflict of interests (...) a process of clarification is taking place within the Front in which I can no longer take part owing to my status as president. It is a false manner of presenting the convulsions and inner conflicts of the FSN at the expense of the relations between Mr. Roman and me," President Iliescu stressed.

Roman Team Seen Victimizing FSN Rank, File

92BA0336D Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 18 Dec 91 pp 1, 5

[Article by Florin Radulescu-Botica: "Petre Roman, National Salvation Front's Trojan Horse?"]

[Text] It would seem that division is our ancestral curse, a hereditary disease whose merciless viruses contaminate generation after generation. We will not now bring up all the numerous and unhappy examples populating our history in support of this depressing statement. Neither will we cite the

broad observations of some of the great thinkers of the nation. They are all only too well known and are still painful to the national conscience; such wounds are neither healed nor healable. But, since the present speaks of both the past and unfortunately, the future, we will talk about the most topical current situation. Also, of "the present that is most Romanian" in the most fearful sense of the adjective. We will then talk about the policy with dozens of cutting edges, faces, and embodiments of Mr. Petre Roman (and his ever fewer partisans) and about the internal struggles that are tearing apart the National Salvation Front [FSN], which has, as a consequence thereof, been placed—intentionally or otherwise—on the guillotine of segmentation.

By raising the sword, the former prime minister who emanated from the FSN committed more than a sacrilege for which Brutus himself may have envied him. He has also committed a disastruous political mistake that will fully take its revenge on his party and his career. From a certain angle, everything can be explained by an insatiable appetite for power and by the strategic ineptness and infantilism of a man who believes that he was by rights born to the sweet cradle of glory. But there is someting else, something essential: Mr. Petre Roman, whose frequent flirtations with foreign parts have excessively distilled his soul, has challenged the profound morality characteristic of our people. In this kind of mood, with dreams ruined and our pride humiliated (by whom, if not by his own mistakes and inabilities?), he first mounts a furious attack, then considers whether the victim was well chosen. That is what he did in the case of Mr. Ion Iliescu, too, whose essential role for the establishment and development of the FSN needs no further explanation. It does not because it is a historical fact, because the postrevolutionary history sanctioned that role, prior to the 20 May 1990 elections, not in dark shadows, but under the wide open eyes of the entire nation. And now the son, a national reformer and world anticommunist, is trying to behead the father who was allegedly irremediably regimented under the banners of the communism with a human face! We won't bother to qualify such an action, as we would be abasing ourselves. All that is left for us to do, as for you, is to continue watching this scenario of a most dubious morality. Now that the president has been accused of "support" for the Moscow putsch, we are certain that a chain of "revelations" will follow: an unscrupulous chain attacking not only the highest national function, but also our national dignity (the dignity of the "over 85 percent..."). Much to the delight of a world that, for the most part, is watching us with a superior and detached interest, like some strange animals, and that is royally entertained by the convulsions of our crawl on all fours toward freedom and democracy....

What Mr. Roman may not have understood is the fact that not the entire Front is made in his image. For that reason, once the antipresidential war was unleashed, the party's risk of breaking up became greater than ever, thereby dramatically destabilizing the country's social and political situation. The dynamite had been placed at the base of the party slightly more than one month after the election, when the government program was brutally changed. The grave mistakes committed in the exercise of the power in the following period added the wick to the explosive, and now Mr. Roman has lit the match. As far as we are concerned, sensing in what direction the program objectives were being unacceptably overturned—something that was in fact a colossal electoral fraud—we immediately distanced ourselves from the party born in the bloody waves of the revolution. More precisely, we distanced ourselves from its leadership, whose despotism had irrevocably removed it from the masses of honest supporters, whose lack of immediate response was entirely understandable. But we would have preferred not to have had that merit and not to have rued our lack of intuition. Because, however we may view the situation, the FSN is not just any minor party, however respectable, but the government party of a country that vitally needs political balance in order to be able to dedicate itself to the titanic process of self-reconstruction. Therefore, in consensus with the recently formed intiative group against the division of the FSN, we too wonder: Is it possible that Mr. Roman and his acolytes are not aware of their enormous responsibility toward the Romanian electorate? How is it possible to so cavalierly accept the ridiculous situation of a political party that follows up on its categorical electoral victory with an aberrant development toward...dissolution? Of course, we are not accusing the FSN rank and file, who were themselves victimized, and by whose decision the sad FSN odyssey will undoubtely end. Anyway, on the second anniversary of the revolution and the eve of local elections, which in the spring will be followed by legislative elections, that was the last thing Romania needed!

As we said, Mr. Roman may not have foreseen the reaction of the FSN members who, fed up with ideological inefficiency, with the pains of the struggle for power, and with dictatorial airs, took the "check" move to the president precisely as the right opportunity to form a...front around Ion Iliescu. We must point out that that is the most favorable interpretation for the former prime minister. The second, not at all impossible and fanned by certain indiscrete declarations, is that Mr. Petre Roman may be playing the role of the "Trojan horse," deliberately pursuing the "breakup" of the FSN. In other words, a new political "army" will alight from the belly of the wooden horse brought into the city (naturally, not older than 40, at most 45 years of age!...). An army of people who, not at all coincidentally, may be wearing pointed little hats taken from the logo of the Civic Alliance!

Who knows? Mr. Roman knows for sure, but he is telling only a few people here and abroad, as the "paths of the reform" may lead him, once toward the former, once toward the latter. This reform may be stupendous, but it does not exist, and it does not exist so that Don Pedro can promise us something stupenduous once he is back in power. Not at the Victoria Palace, but at Cotroceni itself! Because from there, from the hill of old rulers, the volcano of his pride can pour its lava over the country at will....

DIMINEATA Views Reasons Behind FSN Split

AU1601165192 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 14 Jan 92 pp 1, 5

[Florian Borodan article: "'Who Is Splitting the Front?'—Opinions of a Neutral Observer"]

[Text] The split within the National Salvation Front [FSN], the most representative political group in Romania after the December 1989 revolutionary events, has acquired notoriety abroad as well at home. Any responsible and well-meaning Romanian citizen is asking himself why we have reached such a situation.

From the very beginning, I proceed from the hypothesis that roots of this division are primarily foreign. For almost half a century, in spite of its efforts to loosen the bonds of foreign domination, Romania has been considered within the Soviet sphere of influence. Consequently, it had to bear all consequences resulting from this state of affairs. The great changes that have occurred in the former USSR, the domino-like toppling of totalitarian regimes in all former Warsaw Pact member states, and Mikhail Gorbachev's refusal to use the Red Army to defend these regimes further have reopened the struggle for spheres of influence in this part of Europe. The Yalta accords have lost their validity. In the eyes of the main Western powers—particularly the United States, England, France, Germany, and others—Romania is the richest Balkan country and its strategic position is excellent. Adolf Hitler's Germany would not have been able to successfully launch its military actions against Stalin if Romanian territory and oil had not been made available to it.

Therefore Romania is again of great interest, both for the United States and Western Europe, on the one hand, and for our powerful neighbor in the East (whose final name remains yet to be seen) on the other.

Foreign elements began to be active in Romania as far back as December 1989, and the intensity of their endeavors grew in step with the dismemberment of the structures of the old regime.

How? First of all, by feverishly reorganizing the former historical parties, headed by Radu Campeanu [National Liberal Party leader], Ion Ratiu [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party], and others who had been trained for years in the West and at home for events such as these. However, their attempt to take over power through a coup d'etat in January 1990 failed. A new assault by these political groups—strongly financed from abroad—was launched on the occasion of the 20 May 1990 elections. In spite of the efforts by the representatives of certain foreign embassies in Bucharest, particularly the U.S. and British Embassies, the historical parties registered a lamentable failure. Another campaign was launched then with a view to destabilizing and compromising the political group that has emerged victorious in the elections. This campaign was conducted with a fury and cynicism worthy of our Byzantine-Balkan zone. The peak of these endeavors was reached with the 13-15 June 1990 events, which, one must confess, were led by experts in political diversion. They are still trying to make political capital of the consequences of these events, nevertheless, with increasingly anemic effects.

On the eve of local, parliamentary, and presidential elections in 1992, the foreign circles with vested interests in our country have proceeded to reorganize the opposition in the most diverse formulas (leagues, alliances, pacts, and so forth), all of which are obviously "anticommunist and antitotalitarian." Becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the current opposition in Romania—based on the "historical parties" and the Civic Alliance, with their strong pro-monarchy and pro-German slant—does not enjoy wide support and is not very likely to win the coming electoral confrontations—something which was abundantly proved by the results of the 8 December 1991 referendum on Romania's constitution—the external forces have launched a well-planned action against the FSN.

The reasoning was probably as follows: If we cannot remove the FSN from power through elections, then let us undermine it from within, splitting and weakening it to such an extent that, in the coming elections, even if it wins the largest number of votes it will no longer have an absolute majority and be able to rule alone.

In my opinion, the main actor for this action was also chosen in the person of Petre Roman—young, cultured, ambitious, and ready to cooperate in order to "purify" himself of his extremely communist origin—who "fell in love with power" during the period he was prime minister.

The ancient Romans used to say that "power corrupts." Experts in political diversions and electoral scenarios of the CIA are probably behind this operation of splitting the FSN. The U.S. Embassy in Bucharest does not lack such experts. Maybe other services are also involved in this operation. Personally, I would like to put the blame on the CIA, because this is what we have been accustomed to doing for the past 40 years.

It is quite possible that the American experts consulted their English colleagues on this issue, as they have been cooperating for many years in all corners of the earth. The following scenario is based on my personal assumptions and does not claim to accord 100 percent with the truth.

The beginning of the operation to split the FSN might have been the "unofficial visit" paid by Roman to Washington. To the Romanian general public, the visit took place "on request." Those who inspired and organized it know its true purpose, regardless of the "legend" used. It is possible, although I cannot be positive, that Roman was called for an "overt" meeting. Nobody will ever know who Roman's contacts and talks in Washington were with, except for those he has identified. What is certain is that after his return from the United States, Roman began to make changes in the FSN political program, thus removing it from that program which ensured the Front's electoral victory on 20 May 1990.

His program began to become increasingly more "personal," with him giving ever more visible proof of "breaking up with the past" and denying any positive achievements in post-war Romania, thus wiping out the work, suffering, and efforts of several generations. "We must start everything from zero," he often used to say. I do not want to go into details, but it is quite obvious that the split within the FSN was launched by Roman and his close associates within a scenario that was not entirely his own. In the past year he constantly tried to build for himself a platform and project an image opposed to that of President Iliescu. In his foreign policy activities, which will be the subject of another article, Roman proved to be a poor analyst and a novice in understanding the political and military situation in the Balkans, Europe, and worldwide over the past 20-30 years, particularly the power centers and factors that can decisively influence Romania's fate. Roman, an engineer and university professor, did not and could not have become knowledgeable about political and economic strategy even if he spoke 12 foreign languages, let along military matters. Roman probably knows, or should know, that in the developed Western countries one can only become prime minister after 15, 20, or even 30 years in parliament or Congress. His rudimentary qualifications in this respect also explain the failure of his governing. His lack of political experience and failure to understand the historical moment and the nation's supreme interests made him easy prey in the hands of certain "experts," who directed him to destroy the unity of the FSN.

I would advise Roman and his young political allies to learn some more. If they manage to enter the next Parliament, they should start studying their subjects and repeat them for two or legislative sessions. Only then may they aspire to ministerial portfolios. Roman should realize that ministers, let alone prime ministers, are not born overnight as in his unfortunate case, which had so many negative consequences for the country's overall situation.

His fall from power simply put Roman into a state of shock. It will probably destroy his entire program and might even entail criticism from some quarters. This makes him even more relentless in the effort to destroy FSN unity.

Another reason why I consider Roman to be the architect of FSN dismemberment is the tenacity with which he tried to deactivate or at least weaken the vital organs of state security. He did not peek over the fence into our neighbors' yards, particularly into Hungary, and see that we were the only ones who had destroyed these structures. On the contrary, they all strengthened them.

In my opinion, Roman's attempts to remove the FSN from the "great amorphous mass" of the Romanian electorate are also a political diversion. This very "amorphous mass," which is the workers, has ensured the FSN victory in elections. Does he want to turn the FSN into a right-wing liberal party? Fat chance of that happening! Roman thus proves again that he has insufficient knowledge of politics and history. I would invite him to examine for a while the political scene in Poland, Bulgaria, and Hungary, let alone the former USSR, and draw the appropriate conclusions. I believe it is too late for him, however.

Before concluding, I would like to mention an apparently unrelated fact.

After the Roman government's fall in the wake of the miners' 25-28 September 1991 raid on the capital, the U.S. magazine NEWSWEEK, which has a very large international circulation, published in its 7 October 1991 issue on page 27 an article entitled "Discouraging Scenes." As an initiate in this field, I must confess that I have rarely seen such well-prepared and corroborated material from the viewpoint of political disinformation and diversion. The article is signed by Michael Meyer, the magazine's Bonn correspondent. The article reveals some amazing information and assessments, such as:

—Petre Roman is a liberal and the only guarantor of the success of economic reforms and of Romania's evolution toward democracy;

—President Ion Iliescu is a former ardent supporter of Nicolae Ceausescu and an enemy of democracy and economic reform. He is the leader of the FSN;

—With Petre Roman's resignation, economic and political reforms in Romania have come to a halt;

In the context, the miners are urged to come again to Bucharest to remove President Ion Iliescu.

I would like to inform those Romanians who are interested that that NEWSWEEK magazine is published by the Washington Post Company, one of the strongest news organizations for influencing public opinion throughout the world. This giant of the U.S. press, with branches in all countries worldwide, does nothing free of charge to anyone. Why does it support Roman?

Like many Romanians of good faith, I liked Roman's personality. Along the way, not too long afterward, I realized that the prime ministerial shoes were a size too large for him. Regardless of the political position he will occupy in the future, Roman will primarily be remembered historically for his role in splitting the FSN. Continuing my strictly personal assessments, I pity him if he did that under the influence of foreign factors and I am also sorry for the country for having such politicians. If he moved unintentionally toward this end, the situation is even more serious. Finally, if he did everything on his own initiative, guided by the idea of "revolutionary purification," I am afraid that we are dealing here with the worst kind of political opportunism.

In order to avoid making further political mistakes in the future, I would suggest he listen to the advice of older people. This practice is part of the millennia-old encyclopedia of Romanian wisdom.

UDMR Senator Views Upcoming Elections

92BA0336E Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 25 Dec 91 p 2

[Interview with Gabor Kozsokar, Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania senator, by Emilia Vasiliu; place and date not given: "We Must Struggle for the Largest Possible Turnout"]

[Text] [Vasiliu] Like all the other political parties, the UDMR [Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania] is currently also involved in carrying out an electoral campaign for the local elections. What do you think is specific of the party you represent, from the viewpoint of its interests?

[Kozsokar] I must tell you from the start that our main concern is to find means of ensuring that the elections are completely free and straight. Our interest is to ensure a proportional and balanced representation of the Hungarian nationality in the local power structures. I would like to add a personal belief concerning the much discussed issue of the purpose of the political parties, because it has been often said about the UDMR that it cannot aspire to power; that assertion was made when the idea of organizing parties along ethnic criteria was disputed. In my opinion, the struggle for power and the desire to participate in its exercise is something other than a victory allowing a party to form a government or even to participate in the government. The purpose of participating in the exercise of power can also be achieved by other means. For example, through the legislative power, where the elections can secure us a proportional representation. The same at the level of the local bodies of public administration, where our interest is to ensure that each locality enjoys a permanent presence and a proportional participation. That is why we do not compromise on the quality of our candidates.

[Vasiliu] What are you doing to ensure this kind of quality and of what does it consist?

[Kozsokar] When I say "quality," I'm referring to the moral authority, respect, and trust that our candidates enjoy among the Hungarian minority in the respective localities. All the UDMR organizations and all the regional organizations are currently intensively concerned with identifying such people. Even in areas inhabited by a Hungarian majority we are trying to present as many candidates as possible, so that in the end the local councils should faithfully reflect the choice of all the inhabitants.

[Vasiliu] Are you satisfied with the results you have attained so far?

[Kozsokar] Of course, we are running into many difficulties. I think that the stage we have reached in determining the possible candidates is not sufficiently advanced. In small localities it is difficult to find competent people who did not belong to the old structures, were not compromised, and are willing to candidate. Consequently, as far as quality is concerned, much still remains to be done. However, our idea is that it is better to make concessions on quantity than on quality.

[Vasiliu] We know that the UDMR expressed certain reservations about the law on the organization and holding of local elections and that it also suggested amendments, some of which were passed. What do you now think of the law as it was finally passed and as it will be implemented?

[Kozsokar] I think that the chance of having a proportional representation is to a good extent ensured by the law on the organization and holding of local elections, a law that may be viewed as good from many viewpoints (the nomination of candidates, the formation of electoral bureaus, and the establishment of commissions to which those who participate in the election may send representatives, and so forth). This system of candidacies based on lists ensures that the choices of the public in a given locality are appropriately reflected and are decisive for the votes obtained by each party. What we continue to view as unsatisfactory in the electoral law is the fact that military troops participate in voting, something that does not happen anywhere else in the world. Conscripts in military units can be deployed and sent off to vote in certain localities, where they can considerably affect the results of the ballot.

[Vasiliu] What are you personally doing in the field to serve the UDMR interests you mentioned?

[Kozsokar] I try to the best of my abilities to enlighten people throughout Covasna County about the provisions of the electoral law and the law on local administration. I think that we must struggle to ensure the largest possible turnout at the local elections. That is the only way to ensure that capable people are elected to the local councils, reflecting the citizens' orientation and choices. Turnout is the first condition for ensuring that those elected represent the majority, and these local councils are especially important. Even though we think that the law on local public administration has many flaws as to ensuring a real local autonomy, we believe that all those elected for a four-year term must be capable of assuming responsibilities for resolving and guiding local affairs.

Liberal Party President Discusses Goals

AU1601181992 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 9 Jan 92 pp 1,5

[Interview with Andrei Chilimon, acting Liberal Party president, by Paul Dobrescu; place and date not given: "Those Who Will Vote for Us Will Opt for Balance and Pragmatism"]

[Text] [Dobrescu] You used to be a member of the Charter [for Democracy and Reform] and you have withdrawn from it. What is the political orientation of your party now?

[Chilimon] The left-wing and right-wing parties have gathered into groups. We believe that we are somewhere

between the two extremes. Our presence in this central opposition is confirmed also by the political evolution of our formation. We broke up with the "old ones" when they started advancing toward the left. We joined the Charter at a moment when the other signatories were at the center, just like ourselves. We left this arrangement at once when it became clear that certain formations were moving toward the left. Without renouncing the principles of liberalism, on the basis of which we place FREEDOM and OWNERSHIP [all capitals as published] above everything, we are determined to continue to stay in the center. With the risk of finding ourselves in a position that is not in the least enviable, namely to be attacked from both extremes, we will continue to uate ourselves in the center and fulfill a position of balance.

[Dobrescu] What is the force of your party now?

[Chilimon] Our party is represented in all counties. We have three counties in which only initiative committees are functioning. Our electoral lists will appear in about 30 percent of the villages and localities where candidate lists are registered. We have stronger organizations in Constanta, Dolj, Brasov, Prahova, Timis, Maramures, and Iasi Counties.

[Dobrescu] Do you have a mayoral candidate for Bucharest?

[Chilimon] Yes, our party has designated Mr. Tariceanu as the candidate for this position. We proposed him because we know how difficult this position is and how much effort is required to turn Bucharest into a European capital city.

[Dobrescu] Do you plan an alliance with another party, a coalition or something along this line in the near future?

[Chilimon] No, at the moment we are not planning any type of alliance. I can tell you that some parties which are part of the Convention do not accept us, saying only that they are opposition parties. Among them, however, are parties which, as a matter of fact, are no longer opposition parties (the National Liberal Party). When you participate in the government you cannot say anymore that you are an opposition party.

[Dobrescu] Have you taken any action in this respect?

[Chilimon] No, because I believe that any action is useless at the moment. It would have meant starting discussions within this alliance. We know that the National Liberal Party [PNL] set the condition that we should not be accepted. I was surprised to learn that the Monarchist Liberal Party has not been accepted either, maybe also because of the word "liberal" in its name. I do not believe that we should compete now to see which liberal party is the most liberal and to decide that one has true liberal credentials. Thus, from this side we are blocked. On the other hand, we have withdrawn from the Charter, and as long as the National Salvation Front will not clearly define its identity and ideology and as long as the current trouble within this party does not subside, we cannot talk about an alliance.

Therefore, we have decided to participate in the local elections with our own lists. On the local level, however, we still allowed our organizations to have joint lists with certain groups which have programs of a liberal nature, such as the ecological groups and others.

[Dobrescu] Would you still be ready to sign a joint platform with the groups who wish to shorten the transition period?

[Chilimon] Yes, but with very clearly defined conditions and anyway, only after the local elections or maybe even after the parliamentary elections.

I think I should mention two elements at this point. We are talking about shortening the transition period and the period of suffering of our whole country's population. Secondly, we should not forget the democratic element. We are not living in a democratic state now but in a country with incipient democracy. Stepping up the process in both directions depends on the political class, a class that does not really exist at the moment. What one sees in the parliament is far from being democratic behavior.

[Dobrescu] We are in the middle of the electoral campaign. Have you done anything toward uniting all liberal parties into a single political force? First, do you consider this idea as beneficial and second, have you done anything in practical terms to accomplish it?

[Chilimon] The idea of uniting the liberal movement seems to me a very important idea, and we adopted it at the very beginning. We did not want to break with the National Liberal Party [PNL] but we were excluded in the most undemocratic way. The moment when we realized that the PNL achievements in the last elections were due to external rather than internal factors, we asked that these causes be discussed. Some did not like this idea, and that is how we were excluded.

We believe that at one point the liberal movement will unite. When and how it will happen is still to be seen. I do not believe that all the necessary conditions for it have been fulfilled yet. Maybe it will happen after the spring elections.

[Dobrescu] Why has the word national disappeared from the name of the party?

[Chilimon] First of all, why was it part of the name? We did not consider ourselves excluded from the PNL and wanted to establish a wing or faction of that party. We subsequently saw that uniting these factions is very difficult, if not completely impossible, if we consider the behavior of certain leaders. Under these conditions, and upon the request of local organizations, the name of the party was changed to Liberal Party at the beginning of last summer,.

[Dobrescu] Still, what is the significance of the fact that this term has disappeared from the name of your party?

[Chilimon] We are one of the few parties with a liberal program. It is true that sometimes abroad, we got a certain reaction to the word national. For example, the

Germans do not quite understand this term. The same holds true for the Swiss. This was not the reason for dropping the term in question. We believed that the most simple thing is to call this party the Liberal Party (a name that, as a matter of fact, was held by the PNL in the last century.)

Bucharest Mayor Candidate Views Chances

AU1601101692 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 9 Jan 92 p 5

[Interview with Florian Nahorniac, president of the Free Republican Party and candidate for office of general mayor of Bucharest, by Marius Tuca; place and date not given: "I Rely on People Living in the Outskirts of Bucharest"]

[Text] [Tuca] What made you run for the position of general mayor of Bucharest?

[Nahorniac] First of all, I would like to mention that those who decided on this action are members of our party. When they registered me they took into consideration my political past and my working activity at various units where I used to work. I wish that this Romanian capital city indeed join the modern European and world capitals. I do not embark on giving meaningless and pompous speeches, and I do not want to make groundless promises. I only think of the fact that since the revolution, Bucharest has become a deplorable place.

[Tuca] What will be the first thing you plan to do if you are elected to the office of general mayor?

[Nahorniac] Garbage, rats, mosquitoes, and mud have engulfed us. Therefore I believe that one should start working on this. The role of the mayor is to participate, together with his coworkers, to show that he knows how to put on his working clothes and rubber boots to solve all the problems and ensure a civilized life. Certainly, this problem can be solved only with the help of the people. Nothing can be accomplished without this joint work. I look with sorrow at the unfinished blocks of flats that are deteriorating every passing day, and this should make us think. Before one promises wonders to the residents of our capital city, one should be concerned with these things.

[Tuca] How do you see the solutions to this problem?

[Nahorniac] It looks like an easy task at first glance, however, it is difficult and complex. Together with the future district mayors and local councillors who are going to be elected soon, from the very first days a concrete plan should be worked out to organize this activity. Together with the tenant association, residents in each district should start cleaning roads, streets, and boulevards. Likewise, we should start opening new streets where there are none, where mud prevails, and build dwellings to be allocated primarily to families with several children and newly married couples.

[Tuca] Do you believe that you have a chance to be elected?

[Nahorniac] I consider myself an honest and sincere person, and I do not like to make promises in vain, to lie, or accuse others. If these qualities of mine are taken into consideration I believe that I could have a chance, although my chances are very small. I was the target of certain attacks that are not worthy of the press; I was accused of being a delinquent and thief, and this means that my image presented to the electorate is very much distorted at the moment. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, I mainly rely on the people who live on the outskirts of Bucharest.

Rail Repairmen Protest in Bucharest, Meet Stolojan

AU1501211692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Employees of the Railway Stock Repair Enterprises demonstrated this morning in front of the Ministry of Transportation. The demonstrators demanded that the railway repair industry remain within the structure of the National Railways Society. In this connection, Transportation Minister Traian Basescu told our radio correspondent that this repair industry, which services the railway complex, cannot be part of a railway exploitation enterprise that is subsidized. Only such a formula will ensure that the level of services for the National Railways Society will improve, Mr. Basescu said.

According to ROMPRES, this morning at around 0830 GMT, at the Romanian Railways headquarters, representatives of the Federation of Free Trade Unions From the Railway Stock Repair Enterprises were received by Minister of Transportation Traian Basescu. The delegation expressed the desire that the enterprises should belong to the National Romanian Railways Society, until the new railways statute is finalized. Both Mr. Basescu and the president of the Railways Society, Engineer Aurel Dumitrescu, explained why such a decision cannot be made, including the fact that the Railways Society's main goal is transport as such—all other related services are ensured on the basis of contracts with the respective trade companies, such as the railway stock repair enterprises. Finally, the minister said he will not accede to the trade unions' request.

After the discussion, the trade union leaders decided to continue their action by starting a march along the Cotroceni-government-TV building route. At the government headquarters at around 1300, the representatives of the Federation of Free Trade Unions From the Railway Stock Repair Enterprises chose a delegation to present their claims and asked that it be received by Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan. Initially, the prime minister asked for the meeting to take place at 2100, due to his heavy schedule this afternoon. The demonstrators insisted that the dialogue take place immediately; consequently, the meeting took place at 1400. The delegation presented the demands of the trade union leaders. The prime minister suggested the drafting of a normative act to regulate the specific rights of railway workers and of workers from railway stock repair enterprises—our correspondent, Cristinel Popa, reports.

IRMR, Transport Ministry Sign Protocol

AU1501213692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/1/1992—A protocol was signed between the Free Trade Union Federation of Rolling Stock Repairing Enterprises (IRMR) and the Minister of Transport Traian Basescu modifying a previous government resolution according to which IRMR units were included in the National Railway Company to the end of turning them into rolling stock repairing commercial companies. According to the new protocol the employees of the rolling stock repairing commercial companies still benefit by free railway travels for private interests, in keeping with the regulations for the railway units. The conditions for granting gratuitous railway tickets to employees of rolling stock repairing units, their families and pensioners are identical with those for the railway workers.

The gratuitous tickets will be covered by the National Railway Company, while the staff of rolling stock repairing units benefit from all the rights specific to railway workers. Health care is granted to commercial companies staff and their families by the medical network of the Ministry of Transport in the same conditions as for railway workers.

Government Issues Communique on Trade Union Talks

AU1501214792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 15 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/1/1992—After its January 15 session that was devoted to the questions raised during the consultations between government, trade unions and employers on the 1992 income (wages, pensions, social allowances) policy, the Government of Romania issued a communique showing that several acceptable solutions were found but there are still unsolved problems owing to the deadlock reached after some trade union confederations had requested a too high minimal salary per economy (24,300 lei). The delay in government's expressing its viewpoint publicly caused certain confusion which feeded assumptions that such requests could be accepted or a compromise could be reached. The government cannot accept a minimal salary beyond the level resulted from indexation, and this not because it is indifferent to the difficult situation facing the population but because it is convinced that this is not the right way of solving the problem, shows the communique. Such a way is conducive to compromising the efforts made so far for transition to the market economy, to thwarting any policy of economic stability, prices included, to failing to fulfill the main goals of 1992, i.e. a stop in decreasing production, stabilization of prices and, with this as a basis, a halt in the diminishing standard of living and in the losing credibility abroad in Romania's coherent policy of passing to a market economy, all of them having serious consequences on ensuring external financing of the balance of payment deficit.

Wages can be raised only on the basis of two fundamental processes: growing productivity and indexation according to higher prices all while maintaining an antiinflationist correlation between wages and prices as a stringent necessity for any transitional economy.

After referring to the essence of the salary policy as seen by the government in 1992, the communique specifies: in the current economic conditions any rise in the minimal salary on other bases than labor productivity would have serious consequences which, synthesized, would mean to waste at least one year, that is 1992, in Romania's transition to a market economy and to worsen the population's situation.

Underlining that the dialogue with employers and trade unions was vitiated by the emergence in Bucharest's markets in these days of meat and meat preparations with unjustifiably high prices, the government requested the financial and economic police bodies to make investigations, stop the economic agents' abusive and arbitrary behavior and punish them accordingly.

The government shows readiness in furthering consultations with employers and trade unions, but it calls attention to the fact that the indexation of pensions, state child benefits, scholarships and other social allowances can no longer be hindered as this has grave repercussions on their beneficiaries, the communique shows in conclusion. The government assumes full responsibility in making decisions and invites the other participants in consultations to do the same in their turn both for reaching a due understanding and for eliminating the potential consequences of a failure in understanding the rigors of economic transition.

Communique of Commission on September 1991 Events

AU1701084892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1927 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 16/1/1992—On Thursday, January 16, the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiring Into the September 1991 events sent a communique to the ROMPRES news agency to be released which informs about the stage of the inquiry as well as about some difficulties in its elaboration. The commission, the document reads, heard over 100 people—parliamentarians, ministers, political personalities, generals and officers, prosecutors, the Romanian Intelligence Service officials, presidential and governmental councillors, prefects, mayors, experts, and others. There were also received in due time all the information required from state institutions.

Proving lack of respect for the constitutional norms and Romania's parliament, the communique further shows, the leadership of the trade unions league of the Jiu Valley miners refused to give until now the concrete data and situations required for the finding out of the truth in connection with the September 1991 events.

According to the same document, Miron Cosma and the other leaders of the league who had been summoned twice answered that they were not able to answer the invitation.

But later, the Trade Unions League of the Jiu Valley miners informed that it did not accept that the two summoned people come for hearing, specifying that "it reserves the right to defend its trade union members using the internal and international press, internal and international organisms and even all legal means of trade union fight."

In these circumstances, obliged by the parliamentary mandate and to the purpose of ensuring the conditions for the state of law and the constitutional norms, the members of the commission inform the public opinion about the present situation which hampers the finding out of the truth.

"We assure the public opinion that this commission is determined to honor its mandate making use of all legal means," the communique concludes.

International

Colonel Explains Posts, Tasks of UN Peacekeepers

LD1601230992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Australian Colonel John Wilson, head of the advance UN peacekeeping party in the former Yugoslavia, said today at a news conference in Zagreb's Intercontinental Hotel that the first group of officers is going to start working as soon as tomorrow. They will set up a total of 11 permanent observer posts; those in Osijek, Karlovac, Gospic, Zadar, and Dubrovnik will be manned by the officers from the Zagreb headquarters, while those in Bihac, Banja Luka, Knin, Bileca, Dalj, and Sid will be run by the group from the Belgrade headquarters. Of the 50 peacekeeping officers who will be sent by the UN Security Council to the former Yugoslavia, half will be permanently headquartered in Belgrade, while the other half will be based in Zagreb.

In response to a question, Col. Wilson said he personally agreed with the locations and current role of the officers. Asked what would happen if the peace forces had to intervene in the event of possible violations of the current cease-fire, he answered that this would be decided by the Security Council; that is, the UN Secretary General, who is in constant contact with this mission. He added that tomorrow they would establish firm liaison with the EC observers who have been in Zagreb for several months. Col. Wilson said his mission will closely cooperate with them.

Federal

Presidency Denounces Recognition of Republics

LD1601222892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1905 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency today held a session in Belgrade under the chairmanship of Vice President Dr. Branko Kostic. The session was also attended by Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Bogdana Glumac-Levakov, president of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly; Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council; Petar Gracanin, federal secretary for internal affairs; Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, acting federal secretary for national defense and chief of staff of the SFRY Armed Forces; and Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs.

The statement from the session says:

In connection with the recognition of the independence of Slovenia and Croatia by individual countries of the European Community and some other countries, the SFRY Presidency has assessed that this represents a gross violation of the principles of the UN Charter, the CSCE, and the Paris Charter, because this not only represents a recognition of a unilateral act of secession, but also a unilateral changing of the state borders of a sovereign country, a member of the UN, by countries that granted this recognition. The SFRY Presidency considers that this represents a deliberate attempt to break up Yugoslavia and emphasizes that this will not solve the Yugoslav crisis; rather, it will make it much worse.

It was emphasized that this represented an introduction of the rule of interests, the position of force for the sake of the partial interests of certain countries, Germany above all, and that this precedent also practically represented a formal confirmation of the abandonment of the principles contained in the norms of international law that the international community had hitherto followed.

The SFRY Presidency also emphasized that, in spite of the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia by certain countries, it continues to strive for a comprehensive political solution of the political crisis in Yugoslavia and, in this sense, it firmly believes that this solution can and should be sought through the engagement of UN peacekeeping forces and the continuation of the political negotiations within the framework of the peace conferences.

The SFRY Presidency also wishes to emphasize that it considers the recognition of individual Yugoslav republics only as a political fact that does not change, nor can it change, the actual situation, and that the United Nations peace plan will be implemented in its entirety through the engagement of UN peacekeeping forces, the creation of conditions for a permanent cessation of conflicts, the protection of Serbian people in Serbian border areas, and the continued search for a peaceful solution. Yugoslavia will do all in its power to overcome, together with the countries that recognized individual Yugoslav republics, all disputed questions by means of a comprehensive outcome of the Yugoslav political and state crisis.

The SFRY Presidency has considered and adopted the report by the state committe for cooperation with the representatives of the United Nations on the present activities connected with the preparations for the arrival of UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia. It was assessed that the state committee had so far successfully carried out all its tasks to ensure the necessary conditions and aspects of the engagement of UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia, the coordination of all bodies and organizations that participate in the implementation of this task, and the necessary cooperation with the corresponding UN representatives on behalf of the SFRY. The SFRY Presidency was informed about the obligations and responsibilities of all federal and other bodies and factors upon which the creation of conditions for the arrival of the UN forces depended and pointed out the great importance of their timely implementation.

Jovic: Conference Commission Report 'Unacceptable'

LD1601183192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—The report of the Arbitration Commission of the Conference on Yugoslavia is unacceptable because, if it is consistently implemented, it would give rise to even greater conflicts and bloodshed. This was stated to TANJUG today by Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the state committee for cooperation with UN representatives.

Jovic's main objection to the report is that it does not give heed to the right of every nation to self-determination. He stressed that this is guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution and represents a basis for the creation of Yugoslavia. Such a stand by the Arbitration Commission turns the status of the Serbian people in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina from that of nation-building and constitutive to one of a national minority, points out Jovic.

According to Jovic, it is especially dangerous to encourage Bosnia-Hercegovina to organize a citizens' referendum on independence and sovereignty, since everyone knows that the referendum will leave the Serbian people in the minority and, therefore, turn them into a national minority. However, although the Arbitration Commission adopted such a stand, it also announced that it is not binding on anyone. Consequently, the decision is not binding on us, nor can we adhere to it, noted Jovic. Countries of Western Europe do not observe the decision but, instead, act in keeping with their political interests. Of course, added Jovic, this in no way means that those who find the report suited to their needs will not try to use and abuse it in light of the further denouement of the Yugoslav crisis.

As far as political decisions on the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia are concerned, Jovic added, they could not have come as a surprise to us since we expected them. In the present situation, the arrival of UN peace forces to Krajina has assumed paramount importance. The UN concept, Jovic warned, will turn the Krajina territory into a territory under UN protection.

Croatia does not have the right to send its military units to this territory, Jovic stressed, while police, administration, court, and all other authorities remain in Krajina control. This concept, Jovic explained, limits Croatia's sovereignty over these areas, regardless of the recognition of Croatia's independence by European countries. Croatia can be recognized only within the borders in which it holds power at the moment, said Jovic. In the Krajina areas that ought to be placed under UN protection, he explained, Croatia has no power.

The recognition of Croatia, the establishment of territories under UN protection, and since UN, EC, and Yugoslav participants are agreeable to a search for a political solution through the Conference on Yugoslavia under the patronage of the United Nations, form a new reality that should be a starting point for further efforts to resolve the crisis. A political solution, said Jovic, can only be reached through further negotiations taking all facts into consideration.

The recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, stressed Jovic, has not brought any fundamental changes to the balance of forces on the ground. The same problems remain with regard to efforts to find a solution to the Yugoslav crisis. It is possible to proceed, but in a peaceful and political way, or by continuing to seek a solution by force. I am deeply convinced that the war option cannot bring happiness yo anyone and that we must continue to look for peaceful solutions, bearing in mind our real situation, Jovic said in conclusion.

Analysis Rejects Dissolution of Yugoslav State

LD1601171392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia cannot accept recognition of its individual republics as independent states until all issues concerning a nation's right to self-determination and secession have been resolved. This is being stressed in an analysis entitled, "The Reorganization of the Yugoslav Community and the Implementation of Nations' Rights to Secession," prepared by a working group of experts attached to the Office of the President of the Federal Assembly.

In the case of recognition of the independence of individual republics, it is stressed in the analysis, federal bodies will treat this development in accordance with the existing decisions of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia and the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, which insist that secessionist acts by individual federal units cannot be accepted if they contravene international law.

According to the experts, until a solution is found to the problem of borders between the recognized republics and Yugoslavia, the issue of apportioning assets, and the issue of international commitments, "there will be no grounds for Yugoslavia to accept the recognition of its individual republics by foreign states or to recognize them itself."

An act by a regional organization, in this case the EC, to which Yugoslavia does not even belong, cannot negate the existence of Yugoslavia as an internationally recognized legal entity. This is not possible simply because the existence of a country can be terminated only in line with the rules of the international legal system and on the basis of a decision by the people living in that state. In other words, "Only if all the peoples of Yugoslavia and each nation on its own decide that Yugoslavia no longer exists can there be talk about its disappearance," but this "final extinction" would have to be arranged according to international rules (borders, legal successors, etc).

The analysis also says the standpoint that Yugoslavia allegedly no longer exists is untenable because, it is stressed, "Yugoslavia is not a contractual community; i.e., it is not a federation of sovereign states." The republics that comprise the SFRY in its present administrative borders have never been treated as independent states, so even if there were recognition of all the republics, at the same time, it would not be possible to arrive at "the abolition of Yugoslavia" pending the resolution of the question of the borders of these newly recognized states, both between themselves, as well as vis-a-vis the states with which Yugoslavia now has borders.

Apart from this, each Yugoslav people can decide to leave Yugoslavia but, in this way, the right of other peoples who want to continue to live in Yugoslavia cannot be denied. So as long as there are Yugoslav peoples that want to continue to live in the Yugoslav community, the analysis says, the continuity of Yugoslavia cannot be brought into question; instead one can only talk of "the new territorial and state system of Yugoslavia."

So now, when individual states have recognized the independence of some republics, Yugoslavia will continue to exist because it retains all the essential characteristics of a state. Its organs, in other words, continue to exist, the highest organs of authority are functioning, international obligations are being carried out, and it is a full member of the UN and other international organizations, which have not brought into question its existence in a single statement or act.

Milosevic Comments on Bulgarian Border Situation

AU1601202992 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] At a news conference today in Athens, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic rejected as pure speculation newspaper claims concerning movements by the Yugoslav Army along the Bulgarian border. At a short news conference at the end of Milosevic's visit to Greece, which lasted several hours, a similar question was asked of his host. Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis also assessed as untrue Greek newspaper reports about an increase in the state of alert of the Greek Army because of Army movements along the border between Serbia and Bulgaria.

One of the journalists was interested in whether Serbia would use force if Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia were to proclaim independence. Milosevic replied that, since the beginning of the crisis, it had been Serbia's stand that the crisis should be resolved with peace and not war.

Mitsotakis said that it is Greece's aim to find a just and permanent solution for today's Yugoslav problem, which concerns not only Yugoslav peoples as it could threaten the entire Balkans and Europe. He pointed out that the talks held today were crucial.

Article Views 'Undisguised Territorial Claims'

92BA0267A Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 91 p 45

[Article by Tihomir Stojanovic: "Increased Appetites of Certain Neighbors"]

[Text] Up until 26 June of this year, the entire state border of the SFRY was uniformly secured in that the border units of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] physically secured the border, monitored the movement and sojourn of persons in the border zone outside of settlements and away from border checkpoints, and also vessels and persons in the border zone at sea, boundary rivers and lakes, in order to prevent unauthorized crossing of the state border and other violations of the border line and violations of the regime prescribed in the border zone.

Law enforcement agencies control the crossing of the state border at border crossings, the movement and sojourn in settlements, settlement, construction and other activities in the border zone, enforcement of the regime in the border zone at sea and on rivers and lakes, and they prevent and resolve border incidents.

Undisguised Territorial Claims

Since 26 June, a portion of the national border, 232 km with Italy, 314 with Austria, and 102 with Hungary, is not secured by border units of the JNA. In its Law on Surveillance of the State Border, the Republic of Slovenia invalidated the federal law on crossing the state border and movement in the border zone. That portion of the state border is now for all practical purposes unsecured, and according to reliable information, it is through those countries, especially Austria, that armament and military equipment have been imported for paramilitary formations and armed structures of Slovenia and Croatia, and drugs are being smuggled.

Up until 26 June, however, border military units had thwarted 1,512 attempts to cross illegally the state border with Italy and 1,341 the border with Austria.

It is well known that in this time illegal imports of armament and military equipment have been flowing unhindered through border crossings (Slovenia has 37 border crossings for international traffic and 64 for local border traffic), because passenger and freight transportation over the state border have been controlled by republic law enforcement agencies.

During the period of military conflicts in Slovenia, both Italy and Austria openly aided the armed structures of Slovenia by advancing weapons, by allowing military formations to cross the border to their territory (especially Austria) without hindrance, so that they could respond more strongly to the attacks of the JNA.

After the conflict was over and the JNA withdrew from the territory of Slovenia, both countries have been indicating undisguised territorial claims of our territory. It is no secret that all the political parties in Italy (both those in power and in the opposition) are now publicly advocating that the Osimo Agreement on the Yugoslav-Italian state border be reexamined and the border determined all over again. There are more and more advocates that the border must be restored to what it was before World War II.

At the same time, Austria is retreating more and more from the St. Germain Peace Treaty of 10 September 1919, which defines the state border between the two countries. It is aided in this by the fact that the Slovenian leadership is simply offering to Austria that it take Slovenia under its protection.

Hungary in the Dance of the Ruffians

Neighboring Hungary is involved in the Yugoslav crisis up to its neck. First of all with the sale of automatic weapons and ammunition it did a great deal to arm the paramilitary (Ustasha) formations of Croatia. Of the 621 km of the state border of the SFRY with that country, about 400 km are no longer secured by border units of the JNA. The border is now open, and the advancement of weapons and ammunition can proceed without hindrance. Many violations of the border regime have been recorded just in the portion of the state border in Croatia (Baranja) still secured by border units of the JNA: from illumination over the state border, illegal crossing of our border, violations of airspace, to illegal infiltration of armed groups onto the territory of the SFRY, mainly members of the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and National Guard Corps [ZNG] who have fled and are being sent into the country for commando and terrorist actions.

Hungary is at the moment a "collection" center where the Ustashi from all over the world are assembling and beginning their bloody revel after illegal infiltration onto Yugoslav territory.

The border with neighboring Romania and the border regime along it, it can be said, are in order. The problem is that the number of illegal crossings from that country to ours is still high (about 1,000 during the first 11 months of this year). There is good cooperation between our authorities and Romanian border authorities.

The most recent statement by Bulgarian officials that the blue helmets should also be deployed on the Yugoslav-Bulgarian border in order to prevent the war from spreading from Yugoslavia into Bulgaria is yet another "friendly" act of Bulgaria toward our country. This year, there have been about 400 attempts to cross the border illegally from Bulgaria onto our territory. Reliable reports indicate that candidates for Tudjman's army are being processed at three "recruiting centers" in Bulgaria. Adventurers and scum from all over the world are to be found in those centers. There are Kurds, Filipinos, Sikhs, men from Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, Turks.... Before sending the future fighters over the state border, the Bulgarians relieve them of all valuables and documents and teach them well that if they are caught they are not to admit that they entered Yugoslavia illegally from Bulgaria, but to say that they came from some other country.

The situation on the border with Greece is mainly normal. There has been an increase in the number of illegal crossings (about 700). There are more who are attempting to enter Greece from Yugoslavia.

To be sure, on several occasions Greece has brought sizable military units to the border with Yugoslavia, justifying such actions by the possibility that a large number of refugees from Yugoslavia might turn up. The number of border incidents has not increased on that portion of our border.

In the section of our border with Albania, the number of thwarted attempts at illegal crossing of the state border this year has climbed to more than 10,000. That number does not include attempts at forcible "destruction" of the border, when large groups of Albanian nationals have attempted forcible entry onto the territory of Yugoslavia. "Destruction" of the border is done in several phases. First, by a large increase in illegal entry, then by forcible group destruction of the border, destruction and movement of boundary markers, and the opening of fire on our border authorities.

It is obvious that the situation on the Yugoslav border reflects the appetites of certain of our neighbors who would like to grab something from Yugoslavia for themselves.

Slovenia

Leaders Comment on Recognition, Priorities

AU1601215692 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1800 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] On the occasion of the international recognition of Slovenia, a news conference was held in a new press center on the premises of the Slovene Executive Council today. The news conference was attended by Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency; Lojze Peterle, president of the Slovene Executive Council; France Bucar, president of the Slovene Assembly; and Dimitrij Rupel, Slovene foreign minister. Matej Surc reports on the news conference:

[Begin recording] [Surc] At the beginning, Milan Kucan listed the main options that are opening up for Slovenia after its international recognition. Beginning now, it will be easier to secure peaceful development in this part of Europe. Slovenia was given an opportunity to become a member of the international political and economic organizations and institutions as soon as possible. Our new state has finally formally proved that it is safe and, what is most important for Kucan, that:

[Kucan] ... a great part of Slovenia's political energy, so far aimed at securing independence and autonomy, has been released and can now concentrate on the currently most important issues—the reconstruction of the Slovene economy, and on the basis of this, the resolving of social problems.

[Surc] France Bucar concentrated on the priority tasks of the Slovene Assembly. In his opinion, these are: the establishment of a state mechanism and financial reconstruction—primarily, improvement of the financial state of the banks, regulation of the public debt, privatization, and so on.

[Bucar] To conclude, at the moment we have very good opportunities to resolve these matters rather successfully in a relatively short period of time. I am afraid we could miss this opportunity if we do not immediately act seriously and soberly.

[Surc] Lojze Peterle, among other things, announced an upcoming visit by a Slovene Government delegation to see German Chancellor Kohl. The government is also making preparations for a visit to London. And what are the priority tasks of the government after recognition:

[Peterle] As regards the government, I would only like to say the following: Despite a turbulent atmosphere that prevailed during the last few days or weeks, the government continues to perform its duties.

[Surc] President Kucan warned that Slovenia is still awaiting the recognition of Washington, because without recognition by the United States, Slovenia's membership in the UN, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund is not possible. Rupel and Kucan both hope that the United States and Russia might soon change their position and also recognize Slovenia.

And now a few highlights from the journalists' questions. The Slovene delegation will be present at the upcoming CSCE ministers's meeting in Prague. However, Slovenia's membership in the CSCE is questionable at the moment, as a consensus is needed for this.

Minister Rupel assessed the wishes of many countries to establish diplomatic relations at the highest level as almost too numerous. Namely, Dr. Rupel is worried that we do not have the material resources to facilitate this. As Rupel said, the Foreign Ministry is willing to recognize all the republics of the former Yugoslavia, but he will first ask the opinion of the Assembly Commission for International Relations.

Regarding the memorandum on minority rights in Italy and Slovenia, Rupel said that Slovenia did not sign the memorandum on minorities in Rome yesterday, but that we promised to observe it.

At the end, President Kucan said that Slovenia remains integrated in the peace process. He also said that the possibility to form a confederation of former Yugoslav republics no longer exists, as there is not enough trust. However, the economic interests remain. Regarding succession, Kucan said that all republics are the heirs of Yugoslavia, and not only Serbia, and that the republics must reach an agreement on succession. [end recording]

Article Views 'Slovingate' Financial Scandal

92BA0333B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
21 Dec 91 p 3

[Article by Vinko Vasle: "The Slovingate Scandal, or How Slovene Enterprises Were Taken for a Ride"—first paragraph is DELO headline]

[Text] In a financial scandal, 18 Slovene enterprises lost 1.8 billion tolars; Minister Bastl was also very naive; Slovin facing bankruptcy.

Ljubljana, 20 Dec—Eighteen well-known Slovene enterprises and banking institutions have been involved in a financial scandal that has cost Slovenia more than 1.8 billion tolars, and that is an extremely large amount. The money disappeared in Belgrade; it is now consequently in Serbian hands, and there is no possibility of its being returned to Slovenia. Several enterprises have already gone bankrupt as a result.

The Serbian brokerage firm ABC Coblex of Belgrade, at the beginning of this July, through intermediaries in Ljubljana, invited the Slovin commercial system on several occasions to purchase foreign exchange and to realize import possibilities for Slovenia. These were import letters of credit from Jugobanka that were unconditional, transferable, divisible, and unconfirmed. They were issued by the Belgrade branch of Jugobanka, which handles transactions involving letters of credit for the Belgrade headquarters. The first user of the letters of credit was the Swiss enterprise Kreis Industriehandel AG, which offered them to Slovin for purchase in writing, and also provided a written commitment that it would transfer them to Slovin after the payment of dinar funds. On that basis, Slovin concluded a contract with ABC Coblex in Belgrade. It is apparent from both Kreis's offer and from the contract that they had to do with the same letters of credit; the only condition that Slovin had to fulfill for the transfer of the letters of credit was to deposit the dinars in favor of ABC Coblex. Slovin thus concluded a contract for the purchase of 40.3 million Swiss francs in letters of credit, and it is still not clear—in addition to the rest—how the letters of credit came to be sold for as much as 47 million francs.

It is not superfluous to state that this financial transaction occurred in very special times! Slovenia has been cut off from the federation in banking and finance, and in Serbia, Slovene enterprises and Slovene capital have been stolen on a large scale; all of this happened after the 10-day war in Slovenia, and continued during the time when we had already instituted our own tolar currency and staked out our own state borders. That is precisely why much more was involved in this transaction than just blind naivete, well-informed sources claim. In view of this, it is not surprising that the police began to take an

interest in this matter, and that the Republic Secretariat of Internal Affairs is also investigating this. The fact that the public was not informed about this for a very long time is interesting, and eloquent enough—it is not surprising, since several prominent people were involved in the matter, including Minister for the Market Maks Bastl and his directorate for commodity reserves, which allocated 990.8 million tolars for this transaction; he is thus the biggest of all the "naive people" who were involved in this deal! Hard times are threatening Slovenia's commodity reserves as a result of this.

Individual enterprises and several republic administrative bodies, in September, sent Slovin 441.5 million dinars (which the latter immediately sent to Coblex in Belgrade), and then another 970.5 million dinars in the first days of October. The last money order, in the amount of 754.6 million dinars, was wired by the directorate for commodity reserves. Thus, a total of 1,406 million dinars out of 1,412.2 million dinars received was wired to Belgade. The republic bodies' share in this amount was 990.8 million dinars. Together with the interest for the period since 15 December, the amount at this time has increased to 1,860.8 million dinars, i.e., to 1.86 billion.

The ABC Coblex and Kreis firms are said to have given a Slovin official a verbal assurance (!) that the letters of credit would be transferred to Slovin in 15 days. During the period of the purchase of the letters of credit, they were supposed to be usable for imports of all types of goods. Thus, individual types of goods were also supposed to be obtained by the commodity reserves, which are now left without the money and without the goods. Minister Maks Bastl, at any rate, should explain this more precisely to the Slovene public, the government, and the parliament! A contract for insuring the transactions and for intermediate financing was concluded with the Italian enterprise Middlering, Inc.

Difficulties appeared after 8 October 1991. The firms ABC Coblex and Kreis stated that the difficulties would be eliminated at any moment, but the complications only continued to increase. At first, our honest Slovene dealers thought that these were only "technical difficulties," but on 17 November there was a serious complication with the publication of the well-known Serbian URADNI LIST, which prevented and prohibited the use of Slovene exporters' foreign exchange for Slovene and other non-Serbian needs. This, which our dealers could have foreseen (several enterprises that were invited to participate, for example Petrol, warned that all of this would not end well), finally stuck in their throats. Then, of course, alarms began to ring at Slovin. A person in its leadership, according to our information, is supposed to have informed the Republic Secretariat of Internal Affairs about this immediately; the police came to visit the enterprise, and Slovene financial circles were shaken. Slovin's managers then went twice to visit the firm Kreis in Basel, and met several times with representatives of the firm Middlering, Inc., for the sake of the insurance and transfer of the letters of credit. That firm, however, could not do anything, since the letters of credit, of course, could be neither transferred nor covered.

Middlering's contractual obligation, namely, would have arisen only after their proper transfer to Slovin; in view of its behavior to date, suspicions are arising that it was even involved in the whole hoax.

From 2 to 5 December, representatives of Slovin and Klemencic's Investment Bank (which was also taken in) visited Jugobanka and Coblex in Belgrade. The naive people from Slovenia "sharply demanded completion of the transaction," but the people at Jugobanka nicely explained to them that they could hardly do anything in the semi-wartime situation and after the publication of the famous Serbian URADNI LIST. Boris Slavic, a member of Slovin's KPO [expansion not given], who had signed a fair number of contracts with enterprises for the above-mentioned transaction, with a total value of a billion tolars (the other signatory was Pertort), also found out in Belgrade at Coblex that the contract for the transaction could be fulfilled, but, of course, not for the agreed-upon amount, but rather only for 27.8 million Swiss francs. Of course, this would be for the same amount in dinars! At the same time, Jugobanka sharply protested because Slovin's representatives had visited Basel and the Jugobanka leadership in Belgrade. Several days later, Slovin's financial director visited Belgrade again, but naturally did not receive the promised documents on covering the letters of credit.

Of course, the story does not end here. It is only clear that Slovenia will never see that money again, and that Slovin is on the brink of failure, since the blockade has completely prevented it from doing any sort of business. The customers for the imported goods and, of course, the creditors are in an equally difficult position. Now all of them are calling for help from the state, which is supposed to settle the complications at the Slovene-Serbian government level, or even cover the dupes' financial transaction that had proven a failure. If the wolf had been fat and the goat had been whole, no one would ever have found out that our irresponsible people had lost billions.

Letters of credit at Jugobanka were opened by:

Buyer	Amount in Swiss Francs	Wired in Slovene Tolars
1. Euromerkat	1,973,258.92	56,098,010.40
Trast Koper	1,885,205.81	64,480,000.00
Total	3,858,464.73	120,578,010.40

Letters of credit at Jugobanka were opened by: (Continued)

Buyer	Amount in Swiss Francs	Wired in Slovene Tolars
2. Directorate for commodity reserves	9,230,000.00	990,821,657.60
3. Iskra Sysen	350,800.00	9,360,003.00
4. SIB Invest (Slovene Investment Bank)	1,989,395.43	56,381,725.00
5. Agroprogres	87,659.00	2,535,000.00
6. Port (Elcom)	609,787.00	18,043,300.00
7. Port (Ilirijatrans)	91,494.45	2,802,345.00
8. Eurobit	1,000,000.00	30,004,217.00
9. Slovenijapapir	U.S.$53,362.27	2,288,898.00
10. Alka Zagreb	305,701.00	8,200,000.00
11. Avtotehna Ljubljana	870,783.44	28,600,000.00
12. Univit Ljubljana	1,000,000.00	32,396,114.40
13. Adit Ljubljana	435,889.82	14,625,000.00
14. IMP Klimat	348,507.82	11,700,000.00
15. Kras Sezana	1,045,523.50	34,368,640.00
16. PS Mercator	872,046.68	30,300,000.00
17. IBP Ljubljana	304,878.00	10,000,000.00
18. Iskra Telecom	401,141.00	11,729,380.00
Total	**22,487,771.87**	**1,412,209,290.40**

Croatia

Zagreb Radio: 32 Countries Announce Recognition

LD1601190792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Excerpts] To date, 32 countries have recognized Croatia. Today government officials from Sweden, Czechoslovakia and New Zealand informed the Croatian Government of their recognition of the Republic. [passage omitted]

Italian President Cossiga confirmed this morning in a telephone conversation with President Tudjman that the document recognizing Croatia had already been signed. Cossiga will be visiting Croatia tomorrow to personally deliver the notice. Italy intends to immediately set up diplomatic relations with Croatia. [passage omitted]

Prisoners Exchanged in Pakrac; Talks Continue

LD1601210792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Correspondent Ana Mdric report from Pakrac]

[Text] An exchange of captives, as agreed a few days ago between representatives of the Croatian Army and police, and the Yugoslav Army, was carried out in Pakrac today in the presence of EC observers and representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The Croatian side received 51 captives. The other side should have received 62; however, 23 of those listed by the other side did not want to take part in the exchange, as they decided to remain in the Republic of Croatia, under guarantees made by the Croatian side.

The captives received by the Croatian Army and police are mostly civilians who were captured as hostages and then kept in the Chetnik camp of Bucje, and later in Stara Gradiska. Most of the captives are from Pakrac and Nova Gradiska.

Pakrac is calm today, as there has been no shooting. Negotiations were resumed between the two sides on further exchanges and on establishing a list of those people who are still not accounted for.

Separovic Views Independence, Republic's Future

PM1701100492 Paris LE MONDE in French 16 Jan 92 p 4

[Interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic by Yves Heller in Zagreb on 14 January]

[Text] Can a new form of association still be envisaged between Croatia and Serbia following the violent confrontations of recent months? Zvonimir Separovic was categorical; he did not hesitate for a moment in replying: "Not only is it possible, but it is vital. It is absolutely vital to work on this, we and the Serbs, with the help of France and the international community; especially with the support of France and Germany. We know that this war has merely aggravated the conflict (between Serbs and Croatians—LE MONDE editor's note). There have been casualties on both sides, as there were during World War II.

"It is a shock to the younger generation, but it does not mean that these strong feelings cannot be resolved. The Serbs and the Croatians will remains on this land forever; we will always be neighbors, like the French and Germans. And we would like to create a model of good neighborly relations like those between France and Germany. That means that we could create an association, a Commonwealth for instance, or a common market."

However, Mr. Separovic, a 63-year-old lawyer and former rector of Zagreb University, was equally categorical in rejecting the future hypothesis of a "common" Serbo-Croat state. He reaffirmed that the idea of Yugoslavia—"sincere and acceptable," provided it is carried out with "respect for differences" and without any attempt by either side at domination—was launched at the end of last century by Croatian intellectuals. But, he said, Serbia dominated the federation "from the start," and treated the Croatians as vanquished people, which meant that Yugoslavia was ultimately the origin of "tensions" between the two peoples. More recently, Mr. Separovic also recalled, Zagreb proposed the creation of a confederation of sovereign states a year ago but, he said, "since then, there has been the war, an all-out war with terrible consequences, not only material but also psychological consequences, and it is now impossible to build a confederation with the Serbs."

No "Small Balkan Community"

In the future, "We will never again have a common defense, monetary system, and foreign policy," the minister stressed, although he mentioned the possibility of "consultations" with Belgrade and of broader regional cooperation. "With the Serbs and the others (the other republics of former Yugoslavia—LE MONDE editor's note) we want to join Europe, we do not want to have the same currency as Serbia but the same currency as Europe; our military units can join the European units; but we do not want to create a small Balkan community," Mr. Separovic explained, adding that Croatia is prepared to have "regional ties," for instance, with the Mediterranean countries or with Central Europe which, according to him, could "form an axis, from the Baltic countries to Sicily."

At the same time, "It is high time we joined the Council of Europe." As regards future Serbo-Croat relations, Mr. Separovic left the door open, despite his reservations about excessively close relations, to the study of "something like what Lord Carrington proposed at the conference in The Hague, where there was talk of a very loose free association. Once peace has been restored, we can sit down round a table, and it is not impossible that we might reach a solution which moves in that direction."

"That is why," the minister continued, "we will continue to attend the European conference (which is now being held in Brussels—LE MONDE editor's note). But, for us, it is a matter of a legacy. It is a procedure concerning the legacy. What we must do now is share between us the profits and losses of former Yugoslavia." "As a state," Mr. Separovic emphasized, "Yugoslavia no longer exists, whatever Belgrade thinks. They (the Serbs—LE MONDE editor's note) can give any name they wish to this association between Serbs and Montenegrins—they can call it the new Yugoslavia, modern Yugoslavia, or Greater Serbia—but it will not be the continuation of Yugoslavia."

Would Croatia be prepared to recognize this new entity, this new Yugoslavia? "Yes," the minister replied, within Serbia's existing confines or, if it is expanded, provided it is not done by force. But, at all events, "It will be an entirely new state, to which we wish good fortune. What we want, above all, is for it to be peaceful, to respect the borders of others and the rights of all nationalities, especially the Albanians (in Kosovo—LE MONDE editor's note), the Hungarians (in Vojvodina—LE MONDE editor's note), and the Croatians."

The borders between Croatia and its neighbors are "sacrosanct when it comes to trying to change them by force. They are sacrosanct for us because we do not intend to give up a single inch of our territory. But, in the future, once peace has been restored, it is possible to meet and envisage the possibility of slight alterations. But there is absolutely no question of envisaging changes in just one direction. And it would only be valid if all parties agreed to change the borders." Although it is necessary "to regard the existing borders as more or less definitive," with Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia being "a separate case" in the view of the Croatian minister, "anything is possible through negotiations, nothing can be achieved by a fait accompli."

Four Preconditions for "Normalization"

For the time being, until such possibilities see the light of day, Mr. Separovic intends "to continue to work to restore relations with Serbia and Montenegro (an ally of Belgrade)." "First, this war must be stopped," the minister stressed, and he put forward four preconditions for the normalization of relations with Serbia: "The pro-Serbian army dominated by the Serbs must withdraw from Croatia, as must the irregular forces that entered Croatia whether they are called reservists or territorial defense forces—estimated at between 80,000 and 100,000 men. Second, Serbia must guarantee respect for the borders as they were before this war. Third, Belgrade must guarantee respect for the human rights of the Croatian minority in Serbia and, vice versa, we must guarantee the rights of the Serbian minority in Croatia." And, Mr. Separovic added, "once Serbia and Montenegro have paid for the damage caused by the war, we will be very happy to sign a good neighbors' agreement with those countries and to recognize their sovereignty."

At a time when the first elements of a UN force—around 50 members of an observation mission—arrived in Yugoslavia on Tuesday (around 30 in Belgrade and around 20 in Zagreb), Mr. Separovic expressed the hope that if the "blue helmets" are ever deployed in Croatia, they will stay there "for as short a time as possible" to

avoid a Cyprus-style situation from being established. "A six-month period strikes us as entirely acceptable, and we would be very happy if all the problems were solved this year, because the presence of peacekeeping forces could calm down the hotheads." Maintaining UN forces for several years—10 to 20 years—"would be ridiculous, and we will not allow it to happen because that would mean that anybody could attack and seize another's territory and that would be ratified by the presence of international forces."

A Europe That Is Too Slow and Indecisive

What is Europe's role in the Yugoslav crisis? Mr. Separovic, who has recently made more frequent trips abroad, accuses it of having been "too slow, too indecisive, and too weak." It also "made a fundamental mistake: It accepted on its doorstep, or rather in its backyard, an aggression and, instead of halting it, it called for a cease-fire; so the aggression and the aggressor were not judged. It was (U.S. Secretary of State) James Baker who did that at the Security Council last September, when he said it was the Yugoslav Army and Serbia that bore the most guilt in this war and that Serbia wanted to create a Greater Serbia or a little Yugoslavia. At least there was then a clear policy. Unfortunately, the world and Europe did not act accordingly, and the United States left the way open to Europe."

France and Serbia...

"Of course," Mr. Separovic continued, "it was not easy for Europe to understand and accept that, at a time when there is integration on one side, there is disintegration on the other. But it is now obvious that two artificial multinational entities like the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia could not survive."

"Long live France": That was the Croatian minister's first reaction when asked about his view of the attitude adopted by Paris, which has never concealed its reservations about an independent Croatian state and whose position lags far behind that of Germany, which it is trying in vain to curb. Couched in diplomatic terms, that reads: "France is a little more cautious than Germany." Of course, Zagreb would "regret" it if Paris did not recognize Croatia on 15 January but, Mr. Separovic said, "that would only be a postponement."

If France was not among the first few countries to declare their intention to recognize a Croatian state, "the reason is probably a longstanding love between France and Serbia. But I think that Paris has understood the new situation, that a fierce war has been waged here, and we are sure that France cannot dispute the right of peoples to determine their own fate. Because of its democratic tradition, France must promote human rights and the right to self-determination."

As regards Germany, Mr. Separovic said, it has already promised to help rebuild Croatia. "There will certainly be major (German—LE MONDE editor's note) financial aid, and Bonn is prepared to help the Croatian economy to recover." With regard to possible German military aid for Zagreb, "it was not discussed at all" during the many contacts between German and Croatian leaders, the minister also said, and he explained that Croatia will nonetheless request the lifting of the arms embargo that has had implications for Croatia alone.

Serbia

SPO Leadership Seeks Serbian Recognition

LD1601232192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] has assessed today that "Yugoslavia does not exist any longer," that about 3 million Serbs will soon be a national minority, and that this is "the final epilogue in a spiteful and immature strategy by the Serbian Government and its ideological allies at the head of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], as well the allies of profascist orientation."

A statement by the SPO claims that "This one-track policy has refused point blank all the offers for the survival of Yugoslavia, either as an asymmetrical federation or confederation, insisting only on its plan for a so-called reduced Yugoslavia. The failure of the common state, and with it the breaking apart of the Serbian nation, began inevitably when the Serbian Government and certain JNA generals started striving for the crazy idea of the western Serbian borders on the Karlovac-Karlobag-Ogulin-Virovitica line, and when the politically ignorant and extremists enjoyed an unprecedented media promotion."

The SPO stresses that "Serbia can recover from this defeat with as few permanent scars as possible, only if it also immediately asks for international recognition. Then, as a sovereign state, on equal footing, it should commence peaceful talks on the issue of the border and the formation of a new community on the former Yugoslav territory with other sovereign states."

The statement adds that "Internal peace is now particularly necessary for us, as well as wise political moves," so the SPO is calling on its members and supporters "to turn to the future and apply all their energy to building a democratic and strong Serbia, regardless of their pride or hurt national pride."

'Republic of Kosovo': SFRY 'No Longer Exists'

LD1601202992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Reactions in Kosovo to the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia are very favorable. Welcoming the international recognition of Croatia and Slovenia, the government of the Republic of Kosovo stresses that democratic Europe and the world have stood on the side of truth, and that as of yesterday Yugoslavia no longer exists. Also, the model developed on the basis of Serbian

hegemony no longer exists. Now each nation will obtain its independence and build a state appropriate to it. The decision by the EC to recognize Slovenia and Croatia has also been supported with great satisfaction by Albanian opposition parties in Kosovo, which stress that Albanians will rapidly liberate Kosovo from Serbian occupation as well.

Jovanovic Letter to EC Explains Republic's View

92BA0309B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 91 p 3

[Letter of Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic to Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek: "Serbia Acquired Statehood Long Ago and Does Not Wish Separation From Yugoslavia"]

[Text] On Monday, Vladislav Jovanovic, foreign minister of the Republic of Serbia, sent a letter to Hans van den Broek, who is chairing the ministerial council of the EC. We publish the letter's contents in their entirety.

"Dear Mr. Minister,

"In connection with your letter dated 17 December 1991, I would like on behalf of the Republic of Serbia to inform you of the following:

"1. The Republic of Serbia acquired recognized international statehood back in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin. On that basis, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, formed in 1918, achieved recognition of its own international statehood. Serbia recognizes Yugoslavia as a joint state in which the Serbian people lives. It has not proclaimed sovereignty and independence from Yugoslavia and is not interested in achieving secessionism in relation to it. For all those reasons, the Republic of Serbia feels that the offer contained in the Declaration of the EC for Recognition of the Independence of the Six Yugoslav Republics does not pertain to it.

"2. The Republic of Serbia has fundamental objections to the content of the last declaration of the EC on Yugoslavia as well as to a number of previous actions of the EC pertaining to Yugoslavia, but we feel that this is not the place to reiterate and elaborate them. I would like only to point out that by these actions the EC has gone far outside the limits of its offer of good services on the basis of which it obtained the consent of the Yugoslav federal units and later the mandate from the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, and has transgressed into forms of intervention in internal affairs in Yugoslavia without authorization and contrary to the principles of international law, including even an attempt to arbitrarily terminate the existence of Yugoslavia as a state.

"3. As for the other issues raised in the declaration referred to, above all those concerning the corpus of human and minority rights, I would like to remind you that the Republic of Serbia considers itself bound by all international legal instruments and political documents which Yugoslavia has signed and ratified and that it will consistently abide by the obligations assumed independently of any further unilateral behavior of the EC in the Yugoslav crisis. As for the attitude toward ethnic minorities, I would like to remind you that for 40 years now Serbia has been the only republic in Yugoslavia, the only country on the Balkan Peninsula, and one of only a few countries of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation that has guaranteed broad autonomy to ethnic minorities. This is also confirmed in the new 1990 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia. Serbia is ready to talk about a possible further improvement of the collective rights of ethnic minorities when the other Yugoslav republics attain the level of the Republic of Serbia in protection of ethnic rights. It is also ready to recognize on behalf of the ethnic minorities on its territory all those rights which the 12 countries of the EC recognize and implement in the future on behalf of their own ethnic minorities.

"4. Leaving to the EC responsibility for the consequences which any premature and unilateral recognition of certain Yugoslav republics could have for the further development of the Yugoslav crisis and prospects for the proceedings of the Hague Conference, the Republic of Serbia also wishes on this occasion to emphasize that it is sincerely and vitally committed to an instantaneous cessation of all military conflicts and to an all-inclusive resolution of the Yugoslav governmental and political crisis in a fair and lasting way.

"Serbia's recent contributions in this regard have not been small:

"a) The Republic of Serbia has used its political influence to the maximum for the Geneva Agreement on the cease-fire to be strictly observed;

"b) By its active and constructive stance, the Republic of Serbia has given full support to the mission of Cyrus Vance, special emissary of the UN General Secretary, so that he could successfully complete its first stage and bring about the necessary political conditions for the arrival of UN peacekeeping forces;

"c) The Republic of Serbia, which is anxious for peace and a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis, has called upon the new general secretary of the United Nations to strengthen the role and activity of the world organization in halting military conflicts and stabilizing peace, as well as in continuing the political process of negotiation with the direct involvement and authority of the world organization.

"I would like to assure you, Mr. Minister, that the Republic of Serbia will be, as it has been up to now, on the side of peace, the principles of international law, equality of all the Yugoslav nationalities and republics, and resolution of the Yugoslav crisis in a manner that respects equally the legitimate interests and demands of all the Yugoslav participants at the Hague Conference and takes into account establishment of a stable peace in

the region, on the foundations of a universal (and not selective) interpretation and application of the universal (and not selective) principles of the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Communique, and the Paris Charter," Vladislav Jovanovic said in his letter to Hans van den Broek.

Bozovic's Political Experience, Prospects Viewed

92BA0348A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 91 p 11

[Article by Velimir Ilic: "A Politician for Special Purposes"]

[Text] "I am sending this proposal to the National Assembly in the firm belief that Dr. Radoman Bozovic will be a successful and effective prime minister," President Slobodan Milosevic wrote in his written proposal to the Serbian parliament. The night before last, the Assembly also ratified the new prime minister's mandate, his ministerial cabinet, and the program that had been offered. There were 146 deputies' hands raised, publicly, for a new episode in the successful political series of facts in Bozovic's biography.

Now, nothing remains for Radoman Bozovic except, in his own way, accepting risk as a challenge to prove himself, to confirm the trust of Milosevic and the deputies, and the president's praise for a "capable businessman and successful head of administration." Undoubtedly, his abundant political experience in a relatively brief, but in many respects resounding career will be a great deal of help to the 38-year-old Bozovic, a Montenegrin of Serbian origin, a doctor of social sciences and a regular professor at Novi Sad University. He has quite enough arguments for success.

Subotica Beginning

Bozovic's biographers will probably also record his painless liberation from "autonomist recidivism," since—as an expert, not as a politician—he was a member of the so-called "Krunic commissions," and participated to some extent in the policies of the Vojvodina authorities at that time. Bozovic emerged from the anonymous plain of politics with his inauguration as head of the Subotica LC Committee at the beginning of 1989, and several effective slashes among political and economic circles in that city in northern Backa. Among those who merited Bozovic's attention were people whose names were associated with projects for the rebirth of Subotica—ex-mayors Djordje Sorad and Jozef Palincek, and businessman Tole Karadzic, but they are not the only ones. Free-thinking Subotica, with a quite special spirit, responded to the party chief with a rebellion that strongly stimulated the consciousness of the opposition. Some people even say that through such administration, carried away by his party consciousness, he overlooked the fact that he was working to his own disadvantage, and furthermore, that by leaving such a legacy, he contributed to the defeat of the SPS [Serbian Socialist Party] in the Subotica elections. And the epidemic of opposition rebellion spread through part of Vojvodina.

Bozovic also demonstrated his successful heading of administration after he came to head the Vojvodina government, by hundreds of firings distributed to officials there. That is why a similar action can justifiably be expected as well in the republic official apparatus (with almost 70,000 employees), as the prime minister has also announced in his inaugural speech. As far as his achievements in the economy are concerned, particularly in agriculture, the statistics say one thing, but nature says something else. Bozovic's critics claim that he was not specifically involved with the economy, and that the indicators of that performance are fairly abstract. The experts consider Vojvodina's "agrarian revival" to be due to the "heaven-sent harvest during the past two years," and therefore it is not particularly justifiable to give credit to Radoman Bozovic for heaven's contributions to the record Vojvodina yields.

Ends and Means

The peasants are not exactly enthusiastic either with Bozovic's handling of their material situation, since the circulation of money in Vojvodina's social funds (intended for purchase) has induced several thousand of them to protest bitterly. Radoman Bozovic nevertheless "improved" his rating by explaining to them that it was actually the Federal Executive Council that was to blame for everything. If one is to measure his economic services, however, then people in Vojvodina agree that he contributed to saving the so-called political factories—the rubber factory in Elemir and the methanol-vinegar complex in Kikinda. The fact that these firms, as they were yesterday, are named Obrovci and Fenije is perhaps not essential for this economic exhibition.

The claim that Radoman Bozovic is a "favorite of the regime" does not exactly hold water, since in a politician's career all ends must have certain means. He is only a wise follower of the marketing measures of the authorities superior to him; this is not important, for instance, to the retirees who used to receive their checks regularly, because social peace was bought when it was time for it. Everything else, the economists say, is only inertia and Topcider productivity. After all, shouldn't pensions be an untouchable fund for every normal country?

As far as workers are concerned, the several hundred of them from Kikinda will remember how they waited 18 days for the prime minister to say, promise, or fulfill something for them, and how they were finally elegantly taken out of the Vojvodina Assembly, mostly remaining empty-handed. Journalists and editors, however, have a different experience with the adroit "general practice politician" and his recognition of undesirables. If they are internal enemies who support separatists and furthermore have anti-Serbian attitudes, they do not deserve anything else but new editors and directors. The job begun (but not completed) at MAGYAR SZO will,

perhaps, be attributed to Bozovic as a failure, although it is never too late to finish that job.

Among people who have sympathy for Radoman Bozovic's political behavior and abilities, one can frequently hear the praise that a political cannot (even should not) be anything other than "harsh, vain, eloquent, with a penetrating glance, capable of attacking and defending himself," since "only such a person can be a "player with the task and with trust," whom the enemy will respect and esteem, particularly his ability to win. It does not matter that it is "never an actual victory, and especially not a moral or politically logical one." That is why one cannot call the recent observation by one deputy in the Serbian Assembly anything but an exaggeration: "He is a little Stalin, and he is going to push; see what kind of order he established in Vojvodina!"

Radoman Bozovic is simply a person who deals very successfully with all the misfortunes in the current political wind-swept area. That is why an apparently ordinary and trivial detail may perhaps be important one day in his political ascent—namely, before he got up the day before yesterday to go behind the podium to announce his program and choice of ministers, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic got up and courteously made way for him. Bozovic's career is continuing.

[Box, p 11]

Prime Minister Is Being Sued

Time will show how essential it is (and whether it is even true) that new Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic, as we have unofficially learned, has several still "unsettled judicial accounts." Specifically, Jozef Kasa (mayor of Subotica and people's deputy), deputies Milan Paroski and Petar Petrovic, and Vladislav Ban, a former public prosecutor in Subotica, have filed complaints against him before the appropriate courts on various grounds, but mostly for slander and libel. The jurists and lawyers criticize Radoman Bozovic for "defending" himself with official immunity in court (in absentia), instead of with arguments.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Mitterrand Promises Support for Sovereignty

AU1601194292 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] On his return from France, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, announced that he had asked President Mitterrand for the basic matter of confirmation of the integrity and support for the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Mitterrand promised this support. Moreover, France will launch an initiative for the blue helmets to go to Bosnia-Hercegovina as support for the integrity of the republic, Izetbegovic said.

Karadzic Views 'Brutality' of EC Recognition

LD1601205492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—The EC, under the influence of Germany, has demonstrated complete brutality in the violation of international law by its recognition of the secession of the two western Yugoslav republics. They could only have realized their rights in the Federal Assembly. This was stated to journalists today by Dr. Radovan Karadzic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], expressing optimism at the preservation of Yugoslavia within the borders in which it remains; in other words, in those borders containing the peoples who wish to live in a common homeland.

It is understandable that no one has given international recognition to Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic stressed, because an agreement of its three constituent peoples on this does not exist. At a news conference, Dr. Karadzic and two members of the Bosnian Presidency, Dr. Biljana Plavsic and Dr. Nikola Koljevic, stressed that only Muslims and Croats are able to take part in the plebiscite in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Serbian nation does not need to do this, because it has already said in a plebiscite that it is staying in Yugoslavia.

Dr. Karadzic believes that the decision of the EC to recognize Croatia and Slovenia could endanger Cyrus Vance's peace plan. He also critically analyzed the request by Alija Izetbegovic, [president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina] that "the blue helmets" come to Bosnia-Hercegovina. We have said clearly that we are in favor of observers, but we are resolute that what we do not need are peacekeeping forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Karadzic said.

Dr. Radovan Karadzic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party, also stressed that the Serbian nation must consolidate itself in every place in Yugoslavia. It should not allow, as he puts it, the further crowning of republics that have remained in it. It is a priority task to preserve the state unity of the Serbian nation, Karadzic says.

Dr. Karadzic advocates the transformation of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is not a matter of the division of this republic, but of the strengthening of the sovereignty of all three of its peoples. Such an option will be supported by the Serbian Democratic Party at a conference on the transformation of this republic, Karadzic stressed, believing that the best solution for this republic is the confederal option; in other words, Serbs and Croats being firmly linked to their homes and making a bridge toward Serbia and Croatia.

Dr. Biljana Plavsic told journalists that "Yesterday we saw the back of those who have previously smashed Yugoslavia in its borders," but that she views with optimism a Yugoslavia that will remain in its present form. There is a desire for this, and good intentions also

exist, Dr. Plavsic stressed, emphasizing that no nation can be separated from its home.

Dr. Nikola Koljevic believes that the best thing for Bosnia-Hercegovina is that every nation have its own assembly and that they unite on individual questions. He criticized the work of Sarajevo Television and Yugoslav Television, which, in his view, are increasingly operating in a perfidious way from anti-Serbian positions.

Koljevic: 'Nothing Remains Except Negotiations'

92BA0292B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 91 p 16

[Interview with Dr. Nikola Koljevic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Ejub Stitkovac; place and date not given: "May God Help Us"]

[Text] The declaration of the European Community to recognize all the Yugoslav republics has given a new dimension to the crisis concerning our country, especially in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] because of its specific nature. This is eloquently indicated by the press release of Dr. Nikola Koljevic, member of the B-H Presidency, together with Mrs. Plavsic, which insists that under the republic Constitution B-H is an integral part of the SFRY and that the demand of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] is for international recognition of its central republic. There is an abundance of completely opposed approaches and opinions. What now? we asked Dr. Koljevic.

"Now, it seems to me that nothing remains except negotiations, that is a conference on Bosnia, as Mrs. Plavsic and I said at the end of our press release. I think that since the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis this is the most dangerous moment as far as B-H is concerned. After all, those who want exclusively a sovereign Bosnia outside Yugoslavia and then possibly in some fashion in Yugoslavia, this is so far the greatest temptation, because they have simply been offered independence almost as a gift without any internal political struggle or agreement. If without the consent of the Serbian people there should be a request for the independence of Bosnia by republic authorities, that would only deepen the crisis of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is clear that the Serbian people has voted to remain in Yugoslavia. In that case, we would have two faits accomplis: a plebiscite on Yugoslavia of one part of Bosnia and a demand for its independence. Those are two opposite poles. That is why I think that this would make the situation more difficult, and I have said that to Mr. Izetbegovic during the preparation of these negotiations, and he agreed with me. Unless something happens, it will be very difficult for us to bridge the gap that already exists. If that demand is made, it will be still greater. I can fully say in the old-fashioned way: May God help us."

When Fear Instills Optimism

[Stitkovac] In quite a few countries, the Brussels Declaration is interpreted as a "rather risky recognition" of republics. A sizable number, if not a majority, of the political parties in B-H think that this is realistic, although some qualify it by saying that it will not solve the problems.

[Koljevic] I think that that is a good assessment, rather elegantly and tamely stated, that the Brussels Declaration is a rather risky recognition of republics. The public is aware that this caused a split even in Europe and that the Anglo-American world takes a particularly negative view and finds it extremely risky. This could result in larger conflicts. Recognition of all six republics is already evoking a sharp reaction from the Serbian people and all patriotically committed Yugoslavs. First, because this is a barbarous act in legal terms that negates both the UN Charter and the entire body of Yugoslavia's internal legislation. This simply erases Yugoslavia, and it is moreover done by an organization which is not predominantly political, but an economic association with a certain political affinity.

As for the parties in B-H, they are all divided along ethnic lines, although some of them have different attributes, and in Bosnia I am afraid of that protracted game of hide-and-seek by parties which in their names are neither Muslim, nor Serb, nor Croat, but actually strategically represent the interests of the ethnic parties. They might come out and say it in public. There are two chances offered here as a possibility if the worst should occur. The United Nations is one possibility, and the raising of the entire problem to the level of the world organization is a great opportunity to restore legalization in the approach to the Yugoslav crisis. These negotiations in Yugoslavia itself are the second chance. There is above all this conference of ours which has begun concerning Bosnia.

[Stitkovac] Has the decision of the EC speeded up the commencement of those negotiations, and what outcome do you anticipate?

[Koljevic] Forecasting is really a thankless business, and many people are right when they say: How are you going to agree now, when you have not been able to do so for a year? My answer to this realistically based doubt is as follows: Perhaps right now is the chance when the crisis has reached this level, for people, to put it simply, to get smart, that is, to back away from certain extremist positions. And finally, I think that at this point we have been driven to the wall, and there is nothing else, at least for reasonable and normal people, but to sit down at the negotiating table and find a reasonable solution. In a way, the circumstances contribute to a possible resolution.

[Stitkovac] Are there any chances whatsoever for a peaceful solution? That is not just a newspaperman's question.

[Koljevic] All the parties are aware of the kind of chaos civil war would cause. That awareness instills optimism. That awareness is also a certain point of departure. In Yugoslavia today, there is a great deal of talk about

peace, and many actions are being taken in the direction of peace. We have not noticed that they have diminished the operations of the war. If there is to be peace, the real state of affairs has to be realized. Well-intentioned people believe that there are no differences among us, that relations among neighbors are good, that the nationalisms are some kind of psychological or pathological excesses. I think that we need to face the truth, and that is that today national identification is a reality not only in Yugoslavia, but also in Europe, and it is an outright lie that nationalism on the old continent is a 19th-century phenomenon. Just look at the homogenization of Germany. The old European nationalisms are operative in a very clear form. What is more, whenever the large communities have fallen apart, going back to ancient Greece, national movements have always come on the scene. As for Bosnia, above all it would be smart not to go any further into the demagogy of creating a civil state, a parliamentary democracy, which does not exist in any case, but rather our compact must start with an agreement among the three ethnic communities.

The Serbs as Negroes

[Stitkovac] Yugoslavia is a concern and a matter for decision even by certain countries that have been outsiders on the international political scene. Does that offend you as a citizen of this country?

[Koljevic] Of course, it offends me, and I think that I share that feeling with an immense majority of the citizens of Yugoslavia. One needs only to think of the Turkish, the Austro-Hungarian, and German occupation in World War II to realize what a terrible situation we are in when others are solving our problems. However, I must say that we ourselves have contributed to this. We cannot say of Europe that we did not give it an opportunity to intervene. That is one reason more for us to solve our problems ourselves.

[Stitkovac] The example of Vukovar is too clear a lesson for everyone...?

[Koljevic] Well, the example of Vukovar is so horrible that I hope that everyone can draw a lesson. Everyone here should be aware that a war in B-H would be still more terrible. That is why I favor even passing or temporary solutions. Better even that than war.

[Stitkovac] People's tragedies as refugees are one of the direct consequences of the war. The other day in Banja Luka you had occasion to meet a large number of them from Western Slavonia, who most frequently use the words "treason" and "shame."

[Koljevic] That is an immense human misfortune that is difficult to look at. I never imagined that I would see such a sight. Every one of these misfortunes is a story in itself. These are refugees of a particular kind. They have left their towns not because of an immediate attack, but because of fear of previous examples. For four months, they were in a trench, often along with their neighbors who are Croats. This is a struggle of people who believe in solidarity and who were exclusively defending their own home and hearth.

[Stitkovac] They are not politicized at all?

[Koljevic] That is true. They did not get help, and they talked about that. Who is responsible for that is another issue. One day, they will probably find that out. That is a question that has to be answered. But their protest made evident to what extent the refugees are unpoliticized and angry. They were infinitely enraged against those who made this happen. These are people who insist that there is a main culprit who must immediately be punished. In their rage and desperation, they are demanding something that cannot be realized. Thus, they have demanded that they be given permanent housing within 24 hours. That was most difficult for me, not only because it was impossible to achieve, but because it showed how embittered they are because this war has so disenfranchised them.

[Stitkovac] As a humanist, how do you interpret this constant emphasis of hatred toward the Serbs, without going into how much of it there is? Assuming this question is not unpleasant.

[Koljevic] We are in a situation in which people are dying, and a man must answer even unpleasant questions. I also put that difficult question to myself. There are several reasons. First of all, it is a fact that there is suspicion toward the majority nationality, take the examples of the Russians, then the relations between the Welsh and English. The Serbian feeling was that actually all are ganging up against us. I think that there is real historical evidence to support that feeling, and very dismal evidence it is. Take, for example, the last decade of coalition of Croats with Albanians, or the coalition of Slovenes with Albanians. There is a Serbian resistance to that, and there is also the coalition of Croats and Muslims. The Serbs are now in a situation like the American Negroes; they love them individually, but they hate them as a group. I have met few people who hated me or any Serbs as individuals, except for those who held political office.

I think that the Serbs also made some contribution to this. Above all, by a kind of complacency they had, not to say arrogance, toward other nationalities, and the luxury of not knowing the other nationalities. It would be a great danger if the Serbs were to fall into some paranoid desperation of thinking that everyone hates them because they are Serbs.

Izetbegovic Statement on Turkish Aid Condemned

92BA0349C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Dec 91 p 12

[Commentaries by Dr. Nikola Koljevic and Dr. Aleksa Buha: "Reaction in Bosnia-Hercegovina; Dr. Nikola Koljevic: Who Needs Turkish Aid"]

[Text] Thus far, the president of the Presidency of our central republic—actually more due to the fact that he has done nothing than to the fact that he has made an active contribution—has enjoyed a reputation as a patient, tolerant, and wise peacemaker. However, his latest statement on Sarajevo Television, in which he said that a conflict between the Army and the Muslim nation would spell the end of the JNA [Yugoslavia People's Army] and that in the event of such a conflict the Muslims would call for assistance from Turkey, reveals a dangerous lack of caution, if not in fact the ulterior motives of that politician.

First of all, what does it mean to talk about this sort of conflict if it has not yet happened? What else but to provoke such a conflict and issue advance threats on his part? It is as if Mr. Izetbegovic does not know, or does not want to know, that there are many decent members of the Muslim nation, loyal to Yugoslavia, in the ranks of the JNA toady, as well as in its command structure. Does the president of the Presidency want to confuse them with his words, or even call on them to commit high treason? It is hard to say.

But it is much easier to ascertain that among the Serbian nation his statement has provoked very deep, archetypal bitterness. The Serbs have spent more than a hundred years of their national history overcoming the anachronism of equating Muslims with Turks, about whom they believed, apparently erroneously, that they were the occupiers of both Muslim and Serbian regions in equal measure. One simply cannot overcome the temptation to recall the woman from Duvno who, because her husband was taken away by the Ustashi, was heard lamenting around the village, "My sheep were slaughtered by you wolves, my Milos was killed by the Turks...." There is probably no need for a special explanation for why the Serbs even equated the Croatian Ustashi with the Turks. Just as they should probably not be condemned for that. The creation of this archetypical political enemy was based on five centuries of accumulated experience.

The Serbian nation believed that this pattern of political behavior must and can be abandoned. It was precisely for that reason that it accepted with so much readiness and good will the "historic agreement" that it was offered concerning new foundations for a common future in BH [Bosnia-Hercegovina]. To that extent, the latest statement by Mr. Izetbegovic sounded apocalyptic in its unpolitical sincerity. Once again, there are historical atavisms on the scene. From the darkness of history, we are threatened with the souls of Serbs, Turks, and converts to Islam. One hopes that we will not allow these souls to pronounce the final verdict on the (im)possibility of coexistence in this region!

Dr. Aleksa Buha: Evocation of Ottomans

Mr. Izetbegovic does not cease to add to our Yugoslav and Bosnia-Hercegovinan political affairs (or troubles) reasons about which we must increasingly wonder from what region they emerged and to what historic era they belong. If such a policy did not plunge us into the abyss of fratricidal war, we could draw up long lists of inconsistencies, contradictions, negligence for the sacred rights of others, refutations, and self-refutations by the president of the Presidency of the SR [Socialist Republic of] BH, even several times over the course of a single day. It is true that it is acceptable in politics to try with all one's might to affirm one's own interests, but that goal, even if we parenthesize ethics, is objectively limiting to the goals of others. If these goals are not respected, then it is only a matter of time before the merciless cross of the judge will be raised, declaring through national experience: What you get on the Turkish bridge you will lose on our bridge.

It must be recognized that the latest political act by Mr. Izetbegovic—the request for aid from Turkey—has brought with it a certain sort of relief. It has dispelled the last illusions of his "Europeanism" and serious devotion to that manner of solving our political and state crisis, in which there is respect for modern European values, rules of the game, standards, and procedures. Izetbegovic's appeal to Turkey in this situation is an evocation of a long-past time (that has not returned!), the mention of which is unsettling to the remains of generations of the Serbian nation, while the living wonder in astonishment: Is this possible? Because the Turkey to which Mr. Izetbegovic appeals for aid is more the Ottoman Turkey than the modern Turkish state, which is striving to adopt modern European norms and standards in its best manifestations.

Montenegro

Republic 'Has Ceded' Sovereignty to 'Yugoslavia'

LD1601193492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Titograd, 16 Jan (TANJUG)—Montenegro has ceded its sovereignty in favor of Yugoslavia and, in the case of Yugoslavia disappearing, Montenegro will automatically reestablish its sovereignty. This stand was outlined late last night at a session of the Montenegro Assembly's Foreign Affairs Commission by Nikola Samardzic, Montenegro minister of foreign affairs, who also drew attention to a decision by the Montenegro Assembly last December, which stipulates that Montenegro's sovereignty was incontestable.

Montenegro's specific achievement lies in the fact that, despite dramatic conflicts in Yugoslavia and a general economic crisis, the republic last year succeeded in formulating its own international policy and its own political and economic program conducive to development. Samardzic said that the Montenegro Government won a place in international politics by displaying a capacity to make a choice and to distinguish between optimal and minimal goals, between desires and posibilities.

According to Samardzic, Montenegro, more than others, has shown a readiness to search for elements that may help to resolve the Yugoslav crisis and to create minimum requirements for a new Yugoslav community, insisting that priority is given to citizens and their right to decide on the issue.

Macedonia

Gligorov: Recognition 'Cannot Be Stopped'

AU1601164292 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 16 Jan 92

[Text] Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov held a news conference in Skopje. Gligorov is of the opinion that nobody can stop the process of international recognition of Macedonia now. Boris Djordijoski reports:

[Begin Djordijoski recording] Gligorov commented on the decision by the EC Arbitration Commission recommending that Macedonia be recognized as an independent state, as an act of historic justice, something for which the Macedonian nation has been fighting for several centuries. The fact that, for the time being, the EC did not recognize Macedonia stems from the current political differences within the EC, and is also a result of the interests of individual countries that were unfortunately acknowledged.

Gligorov believes that the EC would find it hard to argue against recognizing Macedonia but, obviously, justice and politics do not go hand in hand. However, the process of international recognition of Macedonia has begun and cannot be stopped by any pressure or any intrigues. The efforts to stop this process could only harm peace in this part of the Balkans. When Macedonia is recognized, then all pretensions to its territory will end, Gligorov said.

For the time being, Bulgaria is the only country that has recognized Macedonia, but Bulgarian motives and their claims to Macedonia are not important to us at all, President Gligorov said. Gligorov also announced his departure for Canada and the United States.

Regarding the objections to Macedonia's independence by Greece, Gligorov believes that sooner or later it will become apparent that Macedonia only wants good neighborly and friendly relations with all countries. [end recording]

Article Views Problems With Recognition

92BA0308B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 91 p 10

[Article by Milisav Krstic: "No One Is Recognizing the Macedonians"]

[Text] Skopje, 22 Dec—Toward the end of this week, the deputies in the republic Assembly adopted a new declaration in which they demand that the newly proclaimed Macedonian state be given international recognition as soon as possible. However, its closest neighbors, Bulgaria and Greece, look differently on establishment of the independent, self-sufficient, and sovereign state of Macedonia. This certainly applies to its third neighbor, Albania, as well.

The approach of Bulgaria and Greece to the "Macedonian question" is certainly not new, although this kind of political approach is in a way an "innovation" for the Balkan and broader European public.

Bulgarian officials have not only made repeated public statements in recent months that they would recognize the Macedonian state, but that "by no means would they allow the existence of a Macedonian nation."

Following adoption of the Skopje Declaration in the republic Assembly, the Bulgarian Government again confirmed toward the end of the week that it would recognize the new Macedonian state, which evoked a particularly good mood in Skopje. Especially in the top government and political leadership of Macedonia, who have been fairly nervous. After all, when it comes right down to it, during this period none of the Balkan states and statelets except Slovenia have publicly recognized the Macedonian Republic. Perhaps this will soon be done by some of the states of the European "Twelve." After all, "there ought not to be any major difficulties" with international recognition of Macedonia as a separate state, as Lord Carrington has declared.

Macedonia and the "Macedonian Bulgarians"

Even the "truncated" recognition of Macedonia by Bulgaria which would follow arouses particular satisfaction here, as is best illustrated by the recent statements by Dr. Nikola Kljusev and Dr. Blaze Ristovski, Macedonian prime minister and deputy prime minister, after their return from an official visit to Sofia.

At the same time, they discounted in a way the second part of the official Bulgarian position: that the people living in Macedonia are not Macedonians, but only "Macedonian Bulgarians." Along with a negligible number of members of other neighboring Balkan states, of course.

Macedonian statesmen have tried to explain this position by saying that "it is not important to recognize a nationality," but it is "particularly important to recognize a state." So as far as the Macedonian people are concerned, their neighbors need not recognize them, because, goes the additional explanation, "states are recognized, not nationalities"!?

This statement by Dr. Kljusev and his deputy, Dr. Ristovski, caused quite a stir in the public here at the time, especially with the ethnically oriented political parties, which then issued a public demand for an explanation of why the Bulgarian position denying the existence of the Macedonian nation was treated as a trifle. In any case, the uncritical, "truncated" recognition

of Macedonia of which neighboring Bulgaria has given notice ought to worry most Macedonia's current office-holders and the heads of political parties, unless—as some observers of political events here have dared to note—behind all this there is a secret agreement on a possible Bulgarian-Macedonian federation or confederation, assuming, of course, Albanian partnership.

Greece's attitude toward the Republic of Macedonia and particularly toward the existence of the Macedonian people, is also complicated, but essentially different. Official Greece, it is true, has no territorial claims on the Macedonian state, nor claims to appropriate Macedonian history and culture as is the case with neighboring Bulgaria.

As a matter of fact, Greece does not recognize at all either the existence of the Macedonian state or indeed the Macedonian people by that name.

In that neighboring country, the official position is that the very name "Macedonia" is a Greek term and accordingly—judging by various actions and reactions—our southern neighbors act as though it is protected by some copyright.

The statement by the controversial Italian foreign minister Gianni De Michelis that "Greece did not raise the issue of the name of Macedonia in the last meeting of the council of EC ministers in Brussels"—is only a confirmation of a certain superficiality of that minister and other high officials of this regional community of European countries, not of the actual situation and knowledge of the rather entangled relations in the Balkans.

Incidentally, to those who are uninformed, the significant Greek commitment to "elucidating" the name "Macedonia" may seem like a whim, like the "capriciousness" of certain pretentious politicians and historians in Athens. But, taking all in all, that is not the case. After all, even this so-called problem has its roots. Greek politicians, that is, adopt the premise that Macedonia is an ancient "Greek" term which above all signifies the territory which after the Second Balkan War was under the jurisdiction of the present Greek state. Constantin Vakallopoulos, an unstinting professor at Thessalonica University, who supports the official Greek thesis, goes on to say that a sizable portion of the present Republic of Macedonia, including Skopje, was never within the historical borders of the original Macedonia except for a considerably smaller portion of the present Republic of Macedonia—from the Cut, that is, the Demir Gate, to Djevdjelija.

In the stubborn view of Professor Vakallopoulos, the present state territory of the "new northern state," which even he calls the "state of Skopje," could extend only in the region of what was Dardania. For Vakallopoulos, one of the more important preconditions of any normalization of governmental and political relations between Greece and the "state of Skopje" is recognition of the ethnic and other rights of the Grecowallachians, who, according to him, number more than 200,000 in the Skopje republic.

Reference to a "Glorious Origin"

These current questions, which undoubtedly have been imposed and which have reached the international level in Brussels, are more and more losing an "underpinning" of reality even in the independent, self-sufficient, and sovereign Macedonian state, taking on outsized and euphoric contours.

There are more and more Macedonians who say that they are nothing more nor less than descendants of Alexander of Macedon. Even many Macedonian historians and scholars, relying on the mistakes of figures in the Macedonian Rebirth, for example, Djordjije Pulevski in the 19th century, are rather inclined to "boast" that they are direct descendants of the famous conqueror Alexander, who existed several centuries before the Slavic tribe came onto this soil from the Caucasus.

In Skopje, however, the "Greek conditions" related to recognition of the new Macedonian state, requiring that it change its name, did not arouse particular excitement. On the contrary. The greatest satisfaction was derived from the most recent documents of the European Community, which were adopted in Brussels and which give the former Yugoslav federal unit, the Republic of Macedonia, the right to be recognized as a separate, independent, and sovereign state.

As it waits for international recognition, the new Macedonian state and its leaders have recently been paying practically no attention to the increasingly frequent "conditions" for its recognition coming precisely from its nearest neighbors.

'Conspiracy' Against President Gligorov Discussed

92BA0290A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 91 p 9

[Article by Dragan Djuric: "Are Conspirators Overthrowing Gligorov?"—first paragraph is VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] There are indications that there was cooperation among "VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity] extremists, certain foreign intelligence services, and the pro-Serbian army structure in Yugoslavia, headed by the LC-Movement for Yugoslavia, and under the leadership of the KOS [military counterintelligence service]." These are the political forces that were opposed to the referendum, and are also working on overthrowing the Macedonian leadership and Gligorov himself.

After the letter in NOVA MAKEDONIJA from the "father and ideologue" of the Macedonian national

party VMRO-DPMNE, the controversial Macedonian emigrant Dragan Bogdanovski, in which he anathematized the leader of that party with the most deputies in the Macedonian parliament, Ljupco Georgievski, declaring him to be virtually a traitor to the Macedonian people, one more big political scandal, with elements of a real detective story, exploded on the pages of the Macedonian weekly PULS, and was published under the resounding title, "Conspiracy Against Gligorov?" In that story as well, some of the actors—along with a couple of ministers in the Macedonian government, Minister of Internal Affairs Jordan Mijalkov and Minister for Justice Djordji Naumov—are members, as PULS claims, of the extremist wing of the Bitol and Ohrid branch of the VMRO-DPMNE.

Georgievski's Resignation Without Weight

It is to be expected that a large-scale operation of political purges and political struggles will follow in Macedonia, and this operation, from all indications, will also be publicly promoted in the parliament, which is in session right now. The agenda of that meeting, which has already lasted three days, also provides for a discussion of the resignations of Ljupco Georgievski from his office as Vice President of the Presidency of the Republic of Macedonia, and of Drage Arsov, also from the office of Vice President, both of whom are from the VMRO-DPMNE leadership itself. It is certain, however, that those resignations, submitted because of disagreement with the "state policy of Macedonia," according to the explanation from Georgievski and Arsov, will not obtain the political effects expected by those who submitted them.

This is because Bogdanovski's letter, the second installment of which was published again by NOVA MAKEDONIJA on Thursday, and in which the author emphasizes again that he parted ways with Georgievski because of "his alliance with the Bulgarophile Vrhovist organization MPO [Macedonian Patriotic Organization] in America" during last month's 20-day visit to the United States and Canada, seriously shook the VMRO-DPMNE, a party with big political ambitions. Bogdanovski is undoubtedly aware of this; he emphasizes that at this time the VMRO-DPMNE is "of secondary importance" to him, and that what is in first place for him is the "creation of an independent Macedonian state."

The Calculations of Emigrant Bogdanovski

According to what Bogdanovski wrote, he felt that the time had come to settle accounts with the "Bulgarophile" faction in the VMRO-DPMNE, in the name of the struggle for Macedonian national interests. It is interesting, however, that Bogdanovski himself was in Georgievski's company during his visit across the Atlantic Ocean, which, according to all the reports that have arrived, was very badly received by the Macedonian diaspora. It is therefore suspected that Bogdanovski realized that there was no more market for Bulgarophilism, and so he renounced Georgievski as fast as possible, in order to preserve his reputation among the Macedonian emigrants, who are also the main financers of his activities.

Nevertheless, if NOVA MAKEDONIJA shook the VMRO-DPMNE, the scandal opened up by PULS shook the government itself. Admittedly, it apparently did not shake Prime Minister Nikola Kljusev, who has already announced the reconstruction of the government, but it certainly did shake the two ministers, Mijalkov and Naumov. Minister of Internal Affairs Mijalkov and Minister of Justice Naumov were placed in friendly relations in connection with the scandal over Tomislav Balabanov, the president of the opstina misdemeanor court in Ohrid, a great collector of weapons whose revolver was used to commit a murder in a mutual struggle within the world of Ohrid organized crime.

PULS claims that Balabanov—who has always had good ties with influential politicians, and was on friendly terms with Mijalkov and Naumov on that basis—was well-known for loaning weapons to other people, smuggling works of art, carvings, and silver, reselling automobiles, possessing several sets of travel and personal identification, and having ties with certain well-known figures in the security service....

Suspicious Ministerial Contacts

Balabanov ended up in jail after the murder with his revolver, but only briefly. When he was released from jail, he was visited by about 15 friends to congratulate him. One of them was later to be recognized among the most vocal organizers of the recent demonstrations in front of the parliament building, which, as PULS hints, were supposed to overthrow Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov himself on the eve of the adoption of the new constitution. The organizers of the demonstrations were members of the Ohrid branch of the VMRO-DPMNE and friends of Balabanov.

The Macedonian weekly recalls, as an amazing coincidence, that at one time during the demonstrations, Ministers Naumov and Mijalkov got lost and then met in Balabanov's apartment in Skopje, and watched what was happening from a distance. Furthermore, Minister of Internal Affairs Mijalkov is criticized for having had a hand in the incident in which the Macedonian state flag was taken down from the flagpole in front of the parliament building, and the VMRO-DPMNE party flag was raised.

What lies behind this whole story, at least according to what PULS claims, is the common interests of "those" forces which, each for its own reasons, did not want the new Macedonian constitution to be adopted at all. Thus, there are indications that there was joint cooperation among "VMRO-DPMNE extremists, certain foreign intelligence services, and the pro-Serbian army structure in Yugoslavia, headed by the LC-Movement for Yugoslavia, and under the leadership of the KOS." These are

the same political forces that were opposed to the referendum, and which are continuing by working persistently to discredit Macedonian domestic and foreign policy, and even to overthrow the Macedonian leadership and Gligorov himself as a personification of Macedonian policy, PULS believes.

Kljusev Spared

Even if this whole scandal is a bit far-fetched, even though informed sources assert that everything is based on reliable facts, its repercussions will have an effect upon the overall configuration of the Macedonian political scene. The position of the VMRO-DPMNE has been seriously shaken, and things are not any easier for the Macedonian government, which has been considered a "VMRO" one for a long time by the Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia, the party with the second most deputy seats in the Macedonian parliament, even though only one of its ministers is a member of that party. Admittedly, it is to be expected that Prime Minister Kljusev will nevertheless be spared because of the sensitivity of the political situation facing Macedonia, whose President Gligorov recently called upon heads of state and government to recognize an independent Macedonian state, which was not received with too much enthusiasm in the area surrounding Macedonia.